S.W. AFRICA: THE LAST MANDATE

THE NATION

APRIL 4, 1966 *35 cents*

Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N. J.

The Old Left & the New

Emancipation From Dogma

HOWARD ZINN

FOUNDATIONS IN BLINDERS

The Cool Billions

THOMAS C. REEVES

BATTLE IN THE WILDERNESS

The Benevolent Wreckers

LOIS PHILLIPS HUDSON

WORDS & STATIC

CHRISTOPHER LASCH *on* PROPAGANDA

STEPHEN ZOLL *on* LANGUAGE

DESMOND SMITH

Newspaper

12-19-66 CL1781
UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
359 PROSPECT ST
EAST ORANGE N J

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

GM gets slapped

Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIRS: I hope your readers watching the dramatic confrontation of Ralph Nader and General Motors before the Ribicoff committee were reminded as I was that *The Nation* was the first to publish parts of Nader's book ["Profits vs. Engineering: The Corvair Story," Nov. 1, 1965]. . . . Today, when far too many Americans are indifferent even to their own rights, and watch without any resentment the invasion of the rights of others, the fact that an arm of the government reaches out and deliberately slaps the face of one of the most powerful corporations ever known in order to defend the rights of one single citizen is an event of great significance if we understand and act accordingly.

Gilbert Seldes

another whiff of gas

Park Ridge, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: The Syracuse (New York) *Herald-Journal* recently quoted the late Admiral Chester W. Nimitz as saying, in reply to a question as to difficult decisions he was called upon to make during the war:

> There were a lot of tough ones. I think *when the War Department suggested the use of poison gas* during the invasion of Iwo Jima, that was a trying decision. I decided the United States should not be the first to violate the Geneva Convention. It cost many fine Marines. (Emphasis added.)

With all due respect to the late Admiral Nimitz and the commendable decision he made, this comment sounds very much like an inadvertent admission of fact and truth—the kind that our government dreads to have revealed—and understandably. *Henry J. Dillon*

new *Nation*

The comment we are receiving on the new appearance of *The Nation* is both voluminous and gratifying; the ratio of pro to con is approximately 8 to 1. A recurring objection is to the color of the paper; we agree—it is too hard a white. We recognized the flaw when the first issue came from the printers and we shall correct it as soon as our initial purchase of paper is exhausted (about five more issues). Some of the comments:

Congratulations on the new format! I have been a regular subscriber to this magazine since 1921. I have never seen *The Nation* look so good. *Adolph K. Rigast.* . . . What a sparkling improvement in the impact of the white paper and readable type. *A. Mae Lord.* . . . I find that the changes in typography and design are unnecessary, are in no way an improvement, but merely change for the sake of change. *Gary Smith.* . . . *The Nation* now looks like what we know it is—an important political vehicle. *Robert Ross.* . . . A pleasure to behold! It would be absurd to elaborate. All I want to convey is the kick I had in seeing my new *Nation. N. J. Breckir, M.D.* . . . A real eye opener after forty-three years of reading *The Nation.* Please keep it up. *Morris Goldstone.* . . . Delighted with the change in typography. *Dorothy Volk.* . . . The new typography and design strike me as excellent. *David L. Graham.* . . . Your new "face-lifted" copy just arrived and it's a joy to behold. I'm sure you'll be hearing this from most of your old subscribers. *Milton F. Goldstein.* . . . Congratulations on your typographical face lifting. As a long-time reader of *The Nation* I find it a great improvement. *Warren Hinckle, Editor,* Ramparts. . . . Hooray, hooray, hooray! *Charles P. Silas.*

EDITORIALS

The Great American Reflex

Like one of Pavlov's dogs, the unthinking American has long been conditioned to feel fear and rage at any mention of communism. In the fantasy world created by the opinion molders, all evil was concentrated on the other side of the iron curtain (a term which was itself one of the potent stereotypes of the East-West conflict) while on our side, despite a few little faults such as crime, a lopsided distribution of wealth and a Gargantuan—but necessary—defense budget, freedom and goodness prevailed. And while the wounds of World War II still bled and half the industrial capacity of the entire world was in our hands, the nations of the West generally followed our lead.

But they are following it no longer. As physicians sometimes advise us to learn to live with our ailments, even the staunchest enemies of communism no longer regard it as an all-encompassing peril. The Russians once had the power to sweep across Europe, but if they ever played with the idea of triggering a third world war after losing 20 or 30 million people in the last one, they have long since eschewed any such madness. The Chinese talk harshly and irreconcilably (understandable enough in view of the long history of Western contempt and exploitation), but their actions are notably cautious and their power is clearly limited over the near term of, say, ten or twenty years. So our allies remain calm while we are still the willing victims of made-to-order hallucinations.

The Johnson Administration is both the engineer and victim of these inherited views, and shows only slight disposition to change as circumstances change. A meager adjustment to the realities of Asia is now in evidence; we no longer talk of rolling back communism there, only of dealing cautiously with China when old Mao dies—a promise which is the easier to keep since the Chinese will not deal with us as long as we support Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and we have not the slightest intention of abandoning that great mischief-maker. The most immobile member of the Administration is Dean Rusk. He is Johnson's John Foster Dulles, less hopeful, more boring, but just as fixated, just as frustrated. *Time* magazine reports that, speaking recently in Boston on U.S.-Asian policy, Rusk's "face was grim, his voice grittily tense." His chief virtue—imperturbability—is leaving him. He even took a sideswipe at Vice President Humphrey, who had made the slight concession of switching to a policy toward China of "containment without necessarily isolation."

Rusk is irritated by the $87 million credit guarantee that the West German Government has put together to build a steel mill for China. The consortium involved in this operation includes British, Italian, French and Swiss interests. At first Washington seemed inclined to roll with the punch, the feeling being that it was powerless to thwart the sale, so why not make the best of it? But Rusk unexpectedly took as recalcitrant a stand as he could under the circumstances.

He, and the others in the foreign-policy setup, have much of this sort of thing to bear with, and apparently it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is beginning to get on their nerves; in diplomacy that is always a bad sign. From Lisbon comes word of a program of stronger economic links with Communist countries. Spain is improving its links with Cuba: DC-8 jets are now being put on the Iberia Airlines Havana run, and Spanish shipyards received 64 per cent of foreign orders from Cuba. Activity of this sort is infectious: 68 per cent of Peking's foreign trade is now with the non-Communist world, West Germany's share being three times greater than East Germany's, while Japan has ousted the Soviet Union as China's number one trading partner. American officials are reported to be "not happy."

The truth of the matter is well stated by Arthur Krock: "Men in power tend to become more and more tightly bound with every iteration of policy. . . . In such circumstances, only a change of administration produces the kind of foreign-policy review which some officials consider a prime necessity of these times." Since that is impossible until 1968, and then only if the Republicans succeed in emancipating themselves from the anti-Communist neurosis, it would help, as an interim measure, if a foundation or corporation could be found for Mr. Rusk.

Demeaning the Court

Intellectually, and in terms of human dignity, the Supreme Court of the United States stands above the general run of the executive and legislative branches. Whatever tends to hold it up to ridicule is a misfortune for the country as well as for the Court. This misfortune the Court has brought on itself through the action of the majority in the three obscenity cases decided on March 21, and especially in the Ginzburg case.

According to the reporters present, lawyers were "surprised" at some aspects of the opinion read by Justice Brennan. This is the term used as a matter of decorum on such occasions, but it would be more accurate to say that some of the lawyers were appalled. A Pandora's box has been opened, and unless some means can be found to undo at least a part of the damage the courts will be distracted from serious concerns by a flood of obscenity cases. Hordes of local smut hunters have only been waiting for such an opening.

It had been assumed that the Supreme Court accepted Ginzburg's appeal because the five-year prison sentence, coupled with a $28,000 fine, seemed too harsh. According to Fred P. Graham, writing in *The New York Times*, the Justice Department hinted in its brief that the Court might throw out Ginzburg's conviction without hearing arguments. In oral argument its lawyer conceded that 75 to 90 per cent of the material the government routinely seeks to suppress is more objectionable than Ginzburg's *Eros*, a hard-cover publication for the coffee tables of people who spell art with a capital *A* and wish to see sex invested with more glamour than the girlie magazines attain.

There is always a market of suckers for such merchandise, but why Ginzburg should be jailed for pandering to it is beyond comprehension. Justice Brennan's dictum that the publisher's motives are to be considered in a deter-

IN THIS ISSUE

April 4, 1966

EDITORIALS

378

ARTICLES

381 Foundations in Blinders: The Cool Billions — *Thomas C. Reeves*

385 The Old Left & the New: Emancipation from Dogma — *Howard Zinn*

389 South West Africa: The World Court's Ticklish Case

393 Battle in the Wilderness: The Benevolent Wreckers — *Lois Phillips Hudson*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

397 A Profusion of Information — *Christopher Lasch*

397 Grace To Be Said At The Supermarket (poem) — *Howard Nemerov*

398 To and From Babel — *Stephen Zoll*

402 On Media Trouble — *Desmond Smith*

403 Theatre — *Robert Pasolli*

406 Films — *Robert Hatch*

407 Crossword Puzzle — *Frank W. Lewis*

Editor CAREY McWILLIAMS
Managing Editor ROBERT HATCH
Literary Editor WARREN MILLER
Assistant Literary Editor HELEN YGLESIAS
Copy Editor MARION HESS
Advertising Manager MARY SIMON
Washington ROBERT G. SHERRILL
Paris ALEXANDER WERTH
Theatre HAROLD CLURMAN
Art MAX KOZLOFF
Music BENJAMIN BORETZ
Science CARL DREHER
Poetry MICHAEL GOLDMAN
JAMES J. STORROW JR. Publisher
ANNE C. ABRAMOVITZ Assistant

The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Magazine Company and copyright 1966 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10014. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Foreign and Canadian postage: $1 extra per year.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION *Volume 202 No. 14*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mination of obscenity, and that these motives are to be deduced from his advertising and promotional material, really condemns the whole American ethos of advertising and selling. As Justice William O. Douglas pointed out, our best magazines are "chockful of thighs, ankles, calves, bosoms, eyes and hair" to sell everything from automobiles to insurance policies. The banning of cleavage from advertising would instantly plunge America into a financial depression worse than that of the thirties. The difference is that Ginzburg was selling sex and made no bones about it, while the run of advertising uses sex irrelevantly and dishonestly to keep America buying.

The wisdom of the Supreme Court was shown in the dissenting opinions, while the silliness to which even wise men sometimes descend was vehemently expressed by Justice Brennan. Unfortunately such descents into absurdity, in such a tribunal, are far from harmless. It has been noted that the fanatics of the Right are hipped on two correlated themes—the menace of communism and the menace of sex. Their lurid imaginations are now given free rein, and it is not only Ginzburg who will pay the price.

The Other Spiral

From New York comes perhaps the most familiar story of the newspaper industry: "*Tribune, Telegram* and *Journal* Merge." The hackneyed explanation, "spiraling costs," is once again offered and accepted without apparent dissent. But is it adequate? *The Nation* can testify that publishing costs have steadily risen throughout the post-World War II period. What is seldom noted, however, is that a downward spiral of service, quality and relevance usually accompanies the upward spiral of costs. The familiar sequence is this: a sharp drop in circulation and advertising revenue (caused, it is said, by competition from television, the newsweeklies and suburban papers) is followed by a disastrous strike which in turn usually has been followed by "severe economy measures," a marked reduction in news coverage, a less aggressive editorial policy, and a wide variety of costly promotional gimmicks—contests, prizes, etc.—climaxed by an increase in newsstand prices. In the process the identity of the paper—its indispensable asset—has all too often been distorted almost beyond recognition. This familiar "panic" spiral never checks the blight, and the story usually ends with announcement of a sale or merger. When in the postwar period has a newspaper, caught in the upward spiral, drawn the conclusion that greater capital investment, modernization of plant, improved news coverage, better reporting and, above all, a more pertinent and courageous editorial policy might be in order?

There can be no doubt that the New York *Herald Tribune,* the *Journal-American* and the *World-Telegram* have been squeezed by costs. They have been the "marginal" producers that, until now, have been unwilling or unable to modernize, as *The New York Times* and the *Daily News* have done. Plant and equipment are antique in all three cases. As to content, the old crusading spirit of the *World* has not characterized the *World-Telegram* these many years, the *Journal-American* has been the same old *Journal-American,* and there have been times when the *Herald Tribune* must have confused even its own staff with some of its experiments in odd mixes. Of the three, however, the *Herald Tribune* has shown the most enterprise; increasingly of recent times, as with the fine prize-winning series on New York municipal government, it has been the pace-setter.

Fortunately, the new plan calls for the construction, sometime in the future, of a modern plant. But a new plant, which will reduce unit costs, will not, of itself, insure the survival of the two publications and combined Sunday paper that will now appear. The plan is also handicapped by a weird tripartite directorial setup which, if it succeeds, can be put down as one of the miracles of modern management. More important, how much driving force will go into the effort to improve the reporting, sharpen the editorial focus, and invest the surviving publications with a character which the *Herald Tribune, World-Telegram* and *Journal-American,* in varying degrees, have lacked in the postwar period? In part, this is a question of how much capital the combined ownership is willing to put into the enterprise, but it also depends on the degree to which the management is prepared to carry forward editorial innovations. Now, at least, there is a chance to save the surviving publications and, in doing so, to save the jobs of most of the employees; even perhaps to improve opportunities for those retained. Better surgery than suicide. Everyone — *The Nation* included — must wish success to the new venture.

Powwow

The Lumbee Indians of North Carolina have made a practice in recent years of breaking up Ku Klux Klan rallies with war whoops and gunfire. Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton is therefore taking the diplomatic course of inviting the braves to join the nightshirt brotherhood. This may well serve the double purpose of permitting crosses to be burned without harassment by the aborigines and of repairing the Klan's somewhat deflated spookiness with the suggestion of scalping knives beneath the white robes. As of now, the Lumbees have remained inscrutable.

Warm Spot for Farris Bryant

Farris Bryant, one of the most intractable segregationists in the South and a sly defender of powerful special interests, was recently appointed director of the Office of Emergency Planning. Thus, President Johnson did his part to perpetuate a key segment of the Southern power structure that has given the rest of the nation so much embarrassment and the black men of that region so much misery. The national press made few comments about the appointment, apparently being unaware of what is going on.

The OEP is a relatively insignificant agency, despite the pseudo-dramatic wording of its title, but it is becoming a useful place for eclipsed Southern politicians to keep warm while awaiting a chance to get back into politics. Buford Ellington, a former governor of Tennessee, recently left the directorship of the OEP to go home and run for governor again.

Farris Bryant, a former governor of Florida, wants to try for the U. S. Senate when Spessard Holland, one of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most luxuriant mossbacks in Washington, retires in 1970. The OEP job will help keep him alive politically until then.

If he makes the Senate—and his chumminess with Johnson gives him a good chance—the extremely powerful duPont interests will have another influential hireling in Washington. When Bryant was governor of Florida, he refused to use available state laws to settle the infamous lockout on the Florida East Coast Railroad, which is owned by the half-billion-dollar duPont estate.

With 2,000 railroad workers unemployed, people wondered why Bryant didn't act. Now they know. As soon as he retired as governor, he went into partnership in an insurance company with Ed Ball, head of the duPont estate.

As a savage antagonist of all civil rights activities, Bryant held back for weeks before sending state troopers to end the Klan domination of St. Augustine, Fla., during the bloody riots of 1964. His excuse for delay was that he had confidence in the sheriff of that county, who, as everyone knew, was deputizing Klansmen and allowing them to hold Klan meetings in the jail. On another occasion, Bryant said publicly that although he had sworn to uphold the federal Constitution he had "no intention" of enforcing the Civil Rights Act in Florida.

Bryant is highly regarded by Southern industrialists who believe that an intimidated worker is a good worker. Now we know that he is also highly regarded by the President.

New Texas Voters

Texas is now rid of its poll tax, and it won't be long before President Johnson is unable to recognize it as the place where he climbed to power. Most of the 2 million voters (half the potential electorate) who did not pay their poll tax under the old system were poor whites, Negroes and Texas-Mexicans. When the federal court ordered the poll tax removed, Governor John Connally, who controls the state as a fief for Johnson, angrily called the legislature into special session and whipped through an inhospitable new registration law which, because it contained many restrictive features, was called the "Mississippi plan."

The legislature, which was almost completely controlled by Connally forces, granted the newly franchised only two weeks in which to get on the rolls before the Texas primaries. Despite this discouragement, more than 600,000 Texans registered during the special period, increasing the number of voters in the state by 25 per cent.

About 10 per cent of the new voters will be Latinos in San Antonio; even more will be Negroes and poor whites in Houston; a good many will be lower middle class and poor whites and Negroes in the populist pockets of East Texas. Governor Connally's water boy, Attorney General Waggoner Carr, said at first that persons over 60 could not register in the special period because they had not had to pay a poll tax and therefore had not been prevented from registering earlier; he backed down. Connally and Carr at first raged because the FBI was sent in to observe whether the registering was freely done; when they saw that their blustering was only advertising the new program, they shut up.

Immediate rejoicing over the new enfranchisement must be kept to a modest scale, however, because in Texas as in other Southern states where the poll tax has recently departed the scene, the new voters will find that at present there is generally only one kind of politician to vote for: U. S. Chamber of Commerce approved. Connally, a corporation conservative, has no real opposition as he seeks re-election. Carr's only serious opposition in the race for U. S. Senate is from a Republican who is even more reactionary.

For the newcomers who suppose that votes can be immediately translated into status, it must be discouraging; but there will be another day and other politicians who think that 600,000 voters are worth at least a promise. As the state's notorious Governor Pa Ferguson once said, when counseled to do more for "the people": "Being for the people is so much easier to do when you can count them."

FOUNDATIONS IN BLINDERS

The Cool Billions

THOMAS C. REEVES

Mr. Reeves has just completed his doctoral thesis (University of California) on the Fund for the Republic. His article, "The Foundation and Freedoms," appeared in the Pacific Historical Review, *May, 1965.*

McGeorge Bundy's shift, recently announced, from the White House to the Ford Foundation, and the appearance of that institution's Annual Report for 1965, triggered a flurry of newspaper and magazine commentary, offering an unprecedented supply of popular information about the power, prestige and personnel of America's tax-exempt foundations. Solidly within the tradition of almost all literature on the subject, great emphasis was placed on impressive achievements, methods by which grants are distributed, and the sincerity and indefatigable energy of executives and staff members. Yet for the first time before the general public the leadership of the largest foundations revealed an undercurrent of frustration and self-doubt. Two poignant articles suggested the existence of a problem clouding the future of these corporate structures.

In January, *Harper's* published "An Open Letter To The Ford Foundation" by Philip M. Stern, a prominent foundation figure (the Philip M. Stern Family Fund). Based in large part on personal interviews and on a light-handed, ten-year-old study by Dwight Macdonald, Stern's "letter" chided Ford for its timidity and stuffiness, recalled the days when Paul Hoffman's bold efforts were stifled, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declared that it could be an "agent of change" were it to underwrite such projects as rapid-transit research, domestic birth control clinics, and model school and recreational facilities for blighted and segregated urban areas. To increase the creativity and flexibility of Ford's appropriations, Stern advocated several internal reforms, including a change in the method of selecting trustees, and the creation of smaller, special-subject offshoots.

The piece was good-natured and its author was quick to add: "If I have sounded one-sidedly critical in this letter, it is not out of unawareness of your manifold good works." The theme, however, was uncommon in print: the largest of the foundations is not living up to its potential. Ford, uniquely qualified "to spur society on," is not doing so.

Two months later, *Newsweek* devoted an expanded education section to a larger consideration of foundations entitled, typically, "The American Way Of Giving." Beyond the usual obeisance, however, lay the question once again of initiative. Now the issue grew clearer. Not only are foundations in general cautious about attacking social problems but also certain of their recent ideas and programs have been absorbed and carried out by the federal government. Foundations are "finding it harder than ever to make a real difference" in light of the seemingly permanent commitment of Washington to social and educational needs once met by private philanthropy.

The depth of the problem suggested by these two articles remains unexplored. That is due partly to the reverence and admiration of the mass media for the American corporation, the widespread desire for largess, and the inability of scholarly investigators to acquire much beyond the barest statistics of foundation expenditures.

Is it true that foundations are unwilling to contribute boldly to the solution of certain problems? What are they afraid of? Why *should* they be "agents of change"? What could they be doing that they are not? Will their tax exemption be affected as their efforts are progressively curtailed by an increasing dependence upon federal capabilities? Such questions might be answered with a definition of the purpose of foundations and a clarification of their relationships with critics and controversial issues.

Since World War II, tax advantages have been the prominent incentive in the creation and operation of foundations. The Ford family, for example, used its foundation in 1947 to maintain control of the Ford Motor Company and escape federal inheritance taxes totaling $321 million. With increasing prosperity and high taxes, foundations have proliferated beyond all expectations: from 4,658 in 1959 to more than 15,000 by 1965. Their investment income is estimated to approach $600 million a year, and they enjoy current assets of more than $16 billion. The Ford Foundation, at the end of its recent fiscal year, had a net worth well in excess of $2 billion and assets of more than $3 billion. Individual grants greater than $10,000, listed in *Foundation News*, leaped 16 per cent from 1964 to 1965.

The enormous wealth of foundations, government and foundation officials contend, makes possible an invaluable "venture-capital" function which in large part justifies the hundreds of thousands of dollars that each year lie beyond the reach of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The role of the foundation at its best, wrote the vice president of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, "is to finance intellectual ventures into the unknown, where the human mind has not yet penetrated—or, at any rate, to take the risks of research and every form of intellectual pioneering." Another official asserted: "Foundation executives and their trustees are well aware that the venturesome and the unorthodox are the essence of the reason for the foundations' establishment and for their continuing existence in the framework of our society." In the words of the Treasury Department's latest report on the subject, foundations "can be uniquely qualified to initiate thought and action, experiment with new and untried ventures, dissent from prevailing attitudes, and act quickly and flexibly."

These publicly authorized corporations have, to be sure, a history rich in valuable service to the peoples of this nation and the world. Free from direct governmental and public pressures, foundations have good reason to boast of having pioneered in a variety of fields and of contributing lavishly to a broad spectrum of social, scientific, educational, charitable, religious and foreign activities. But a careful look at the record during the recent decade, the years of greatest growth and potential influence, also reveals their pronounced unwillingness to enter areas of major importance which threaten to be controversial.

Merle Curti, the historian and author of *American Philanthropy Overseas*, wrote not long ago:

> Philanthropy on the whole has avoided controversial issues, the very issues, perhaps, that offer the greatest challenge and that point to the greatest need. . . . Urban renewal, the civil liberties, racial injustice, overseas relief and technical aid, and international peace and understanding, have . . . attracted some philanthropic support. But, in terms of the importance and need, I venture to maintain that what has been done—in terms of the giving of money, time, and talent—has been utterly inadequate and far less worthy of the description of "venture capital" and social inventiveness than much of the literature of philanthropy suggests.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three of Dr. Curti's categories—peace, civil rights and civil liberties—offer particularly fruitful evidence for his contention.

In 1965, foundations distributed more than $1 billion: a little more than $5 million went to "Peace and International Cooperation." The United States spends $210 million a *month* just on ammunition for the war in Vietnam. Foundations allocated $1 million more for the performing arts last year than they did in direct pursuit of world peace.

Expenditures for "Interracial Relations" climbed from approximately $253,000 in 1962 to $26,700,000 three years later. And yet in terms of the problem, and considering the resources, the figure is conservative. Much of the money has gone into well-worn channels; there has been almost no innovation. The Ford Foundation's highly publicized contribution to the recent report of the McCone Commission does little to reverse this conclusion. The solutions to the critical problems of Watts are expected to come almost entirely from federal, state and local governments.

Hints of programs touching civil liberties appear in several categories of the most recent statistics, but the term itself goes unmentioned. The Fund for the Republic was the first foundation-created body designed for large-scale study and public education in both civil liberties and civil rights. It was incorporated in 1952 and, as Robert M. Hutchins put it, "became involved in controversy merely by coming into existence." The parent Ford Foundation, and Henry Ford II in particular, frightened by threats from several right-wing newsmen and a few hundred letters of protest (many from the South), soon alternated official comment on the Fund between statements of dissociation and damagingly vague reprobation. The Fund for the Republic, now self-supporting, remains a monument to the timidity of its original benefactors. It has had no siblings.

Why is it that foundations shun their vast potential for peace seeking, eradicating racial injustice, and educating the American public about its incalculably valuable and frequently abused constitutional protection? What is it that causes one foundation president to declare flatly: "Foundations avoid controversy like the plague"? Why does the sympathetic chronicler, F. Emerson Andrews, write: "investigations which challenge long-held beliefs are unsafe"?

In part the explanation lies in the natural conservatism that surrounds great quantities of money. But students and officials of foundations point to at least three particular causes. The first concerns the government's tax-exemption qualifications.

Section 501 (c) (3) of the 1954 Internal Revenue Code, originally drafted into law twenty years earlier, prohibits tax-exempt bodies from using a substantial part of their efforts for propaganda or to influence legislation. While it is true that the key words "substantial," "propaganda" and "influence" lack precise definition, interpretations have been exceedingly lenient. In more than thirty years, this section has hampered no honestly educational endeavors in, say, civil rights or civil liberties. Tax exemption has been withdrawn from only a handful of small organizations that were obviously, even blatantly, engaged in defying the meaning of the code as any reasonable man would interpret it.

It is hard to imagine even one of all the unattended needs of our society that could not be more vigorously explored without offending the tax laws. Discovering, presenting and encouraging discussion of facts upon which intelligent public opinion might be based has yet to be prohibited by the Treasury Department.

A second inhibiting factor, it is often claimed, is the perpetual threat of Congressional investigations. A former editor of *Foundation News* wrote recently:

> Foundations have been more venturesome in the past, yes, and they have gotten, in return, a series of more or less infamous Congressional investigations. The traumata are terribly distinct; the scars are difficult of healing, when so many wounds are every day being opened and reopened.

The first of three modern investigations into the motives, methods and effects of foundations conducted public hearings in late 1952. Its chairman, Eugene Cox of Georgia, called the inquiry, evidence suggests, in reprisal against the Rockefellers, Fords and Paul G. Hoffman (then President of the Ford Foundation), all of whom had supported General Eisenhower against his own Presidential candidate, Robert A. Taft. The hearings considered, among other things, "the question of whether the foundations have used their resources to weaken, undermine, or discredit the American system of free enterprise . . . while at the same time extolling the virtues of the Socialist state." The 15-page final report concluded that they had not and no legislation ensued. But one committee member and fellow Taft supporter, Brazilla Carroll Reece of Tennessee, soon acquired funds for a more "comprehensive" study.

In December, 1954, the Reece committee issued a 416-page majority report which cast the shadow of subversion on George Kennan, John Dewey, the United Nations, social security, the income tax, Dr. Kinsey and scores of additional men, ideas, laws and institutions. Foundation trustees were warned to be, henceforth, "very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material which runs contrary to what the public currently wishes, approves and likes." Once again, no legislation came out of this investigation—even in the depths of the McCarthy era. The committee was ridiculed and scorned by an overwhelming majority of the nation's leading newspapers. *The New York Times* even doubted that there was a "majority" report. One wonders how many foundation executives exhume that scurrilous document periodically to tremble at its warnings? Robert H. Bremner, in his excellent *American Philanthropy*, concluded accurately: "Whatever disservice the Committee rendered the House, it did no serious harm to foundations."

A third, and very brief, series of hearings was held in the summer of 1956 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Under examination were two volumes on black-listing practices in the entertainment industry (the committee contended that black listing was a term invented by dangerous liberals), and a $5,000 award given by the Fund for the Republic to a Quaker meeting. If the encounter did any damage, it was in no way reflected in the subsequent activities of the Fund.

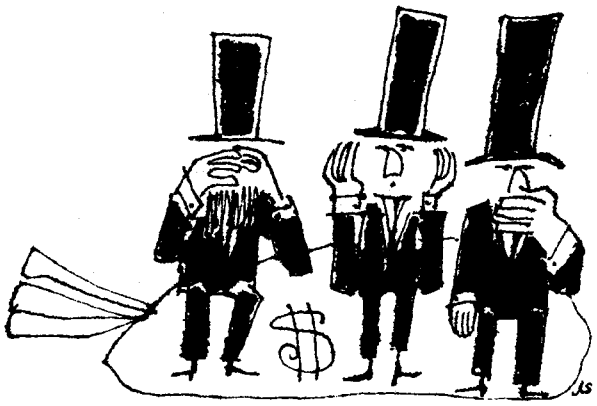
The current Congressional probe of foundations is being pursued by Wright Patman and the Select Committee on Small Business; it is dealing with alleged financial malfeasance. No speeches or publications have appeared to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

justify calling this investigation a threat to foundation initiative.

It is contended, in the third place, that "public opinion" is more conservative than is generally recognized, and that it would flare up if foundations were to grapple with the unorthodox. Now we have come to the heart of the matter. What is the nature of the public outcry that is said to frighten these venerated structures, which represent and include in their service many of the nation's most opulent and influential citizens?

The truth is that this last argument is even weaker than its predecessors. Only a handful of noisy, highly predictable newsmen and action groups, and an occasional politician, have been highly critical of America's foundations since



World War I. And this criticism, in spite of threats to the contrary, has not caused the slightest loss of profits to any corporation identified with foundations under attack.

Two further and basic causes of philanthropic conservatism have received little attention. At best the details are hazy because the foundations have released so little information.

In the first place, present law enables a donor to manipulate his foundation's tax-exempt funds indefinitely. The Treasury Department, thanks to Congressman Patman, is currently critical of this arrangement.

> . . . influence by a donor or his family presents opportunities for private advantage and public detriment which are too subtle and refined for specific prohibitions to prevent . . . and it permits the development of narrowness of view and inflexibility in foundation management.

This assessment is no doubt correct in many cases. Excessive conservatism is almost certain to be found where there are close bonds between a profit-making corporation (usually sensitive to the slightest complaint) and a foundation. There is little recent evidence to support the typical claim that many urgently needed "social and public advantages . . . may flow from continued family control of a business enterprise even though it be through a medium of a private foundation."

Second, what Philip Stern noted about the Ford Foundation's board of trustees seems to be true in general: members all too often come from the "Establishment." The selection of McGeorge Bundy is a most obvious case in point. A survey of the major foundation boards discovers few trustees who are Negroes, women, social workers, clergymen; or active scientists, technicians or scholars. Two studies have disclosed that more than a third of all trustees considered were businessmen and that these were largely corporation officers, bankers and financiers. Further, trustees are frequently chosen by their predecessors and retirement age is often the sole limitation on tenure.

An outline for reform was offered by a contributor to a recent foundation bulletin:

> Foundations are funded organizations; they do not need, for economic reasons, a board composed of an impressive collection of titles and status-names. Foundation trustees should be men of ideas, should be specifically selected for the sake of their ideas. They should not be figureheads. . . . They ought to be men of concern, of dedication, men who would like to see social motion and who are prepared to devote themselves toward assisting it.

As it is, many foundation spokesmen in this turbulent era look on contributions to conservation projects, orchestras and ballet and theatre companies as the outermost fringe of daring.

As their number and strength continue to swell at an unprecedented rate, foundations could easily provide in fact the badly needed "venture-capital" of which they boast in their self-portraits. If they would discard the historical fictions on which their official timidity rests, and make whatever reforms may be necessary in their operating machinery to assure a farsighted and continuing concern for social progress, foundations could demonstrate the capabilities of fearless philanthropy and prove the value of their own existence. The possibilities are staggering. Several suggestive guidelines come quickly to mind.

With the world suffering perpetual tension over the fluctuating and precarious proximity of total annihilation, where are the vast sums being poured into the pursuit of disarmament and peace? The Herman Kahns do not suffer financial malnutrition; the number of studies and volumes stressing the logistics of nuclear war has increased sharply. Our economy needs somehow to be disentangled from its dependence upon arms production. Where are the minds that are busily making the preparatory outlines?

A foundation might establish centers for the study of peace, staffed by experts from a variety of disciplines, to develop and publicize methods by which peacetime economies and flexible, meaningful diplomacy might become feasible. Senator Stennis and Mr. Goldwater might be upset and so might the Hearst press and the Chicago *Tribune*. But anyone on the frontiers of today's most urgent problems will incur their displeasure.

Almost any use of broadcasting in the pursuit of peace and international understanding would be an innovation. Extensive prime-time, commercial network television interviews of Chinese scholars might initiate one series; full-scale documentaries and debates among qualified authorities on the origins and meaning of the cold war, another. Provocative radio broadcasting at the highest level could be encouraged through support of the struggling Pacifica network of stations.

Rep. Jonathan Bingham of the Bronx has proposed that a study be made of ways to bring about a negotiated peace in Vietnam. The clacker and clichés heaped upon Sen. Rob-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ert Kennedy's recent suggestions prompted Bingham to state: "The Administration has not yet been sufficiently resourceful or flexible in its efforts to get negotiations started." "Flexibility"— his thoughts turned to foundations, and the idea was submitted to Ford and Carnegie. He is waiting.

As for civil rights, foundations might create jointly a "vote corps" to assist voter registration in the South. Does anyone imagine a dearth of volunteers? Foundations might expand an idea of Martin Luther King's and accomplish what red tape has thus far stifled on the federal level: the rehabilitation (not destruction) of six square blocks of slum housing to test the economic and social results. They could enter directly into areas like Watts and Oakland, offering counsel and financial assistance to investors, looking for and creating jobs, getting *directly involved* in the miseries of segregration and poverty.

More than one-third of America's population now lives in twenty-four metropolitan areas containing a million or more people. Mayor Lindsay of New York has appealed to foundations to come to the assistance of beleaguered and baffled city governments, currently unable to sustain the most rudimentary conditions for decent urban living. To illustrate the current limits of most foundation adventurousness, Ford retreated from a large-scale research project on urban transportation, as Stern put it, "out of reluctance to commit such large sums to a chancy project."

To decrease the appalling public ignorance of the Bill of Rights, discussion centers could be created in, say, 500 American cities, to promote an understanding of the Constitution and democracy. Unthinkable topics might be discussed in a series of touring conferences: the future of the FBI, the invasion of privacy by government, the historical and moral value of loyalty oaths. Widespread experiments with civilian review boards could be underwritten.

Planning for the potentially revolutionary effects of cybernation, intensive programs in birth control education in a world in which more than a billion and a half of the world's citizens suffer directly from the accelerating gap between food and people—the evolving list of badly neglected projects in a time of unparalleled change is almost endless. If foundations are uniquely qualified to take calculated risks in controversial areas, if their very purpose is to serve the public with an initiative and flexibility not easily achieved by the federal government, they should at all times be engaged deeply in the recognition and solution of more of our own and the world's most difficult and acute problems. The case for foundations can be made clearly if they will do what they alone can do, and are supposed to do, honestly, efficiently, and to the utmost of their ability.

THE OLD LEFT & THE NEW

Emancipation From Dogma

HOWARD ZINN

Mr. Zinn is the author of The Southern Mystique *(Knopf),* SNCC: The New Abolitionists *(Beacon), and a forthcoming volume,* New Deal Thought *(Bobbs-Merrill). He teaches courses in political theory and civil liberties at Boston University.*

There was an American Left in the thirties. Then the country went through a World War and a cold war, reconversion, McCarthyism and prosperity; and for a time there was not in this country much that could reasonably be called leftist. Now in the sixties the New Left has emerged. It bears some resemblance to the radicalism of the thirties, but what follows here will be primarily an exercise in contrasts.

It is all too easy to be witty in describing of the militant Left of the 1930s: the stage whispering, the posturing, the dogma, the in-fighting; the Talmudic debates among Trotskyists, Communists, Lovestonites, old Wobblies; the hypocrisy; the self-righteousness. But measure these defects against the evils which the Left saw in the thirties: the hungry children, the evicted families shivering in the streets, the men standing in long lines for a day's work, the Negroes lynched in the South and jammed into filthy ghettos in the North. All this happening in the richest nation, the most liberal nation, in the world. And overseas, the Japanese butchering China, Mussolini's tanks rumbling toward Ethiopian farmers carrying spears, German warplanes bombing Barcelona, Hitler beginning the deadly roundup of the Jews and raving in the Berlin *Sportspalast*. And all this happening while Western Christian countries hemmed and hawed and murmured about communism. The old Left may have been a movement of Don Quixotes, but it pointed out the crimes, here and abroad, before anyone else.

In the Roosevelt circle itself there was no one we could call a militant leftist, despite the cries of the Chamber of Commerce, Father Coughlin and the Liberty League; despite Al Smith's assertion that behind the New Dealers were really Norman Thomas, Karl Marx and Lenin. Rexford Guy Tugwell, of all in the inner Roosevelt group, was the boldest in his economic analysis. As early as 1932, in a paper to the American Economic Association, he called for national economic planning and the control of prices and profits—which meant, he said, that "business will logically be required to disappear."

We would need to move outside the Roosevelt official family to find leftist intellectuals in any number. There was John Dewey, whose pragmatism went beyond that of FDR to embrace an attack on the profit system. There was Upton Sinclair, with his mild, homey, American brand of socialism, who said that "in a cooperative society every man, woman and child would have the equivalent of $5,000 a year income from the labor of the able-bodied young men for three or four hours per day." Reinhold Niebuhr urged

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "private ownership of the productive processes" be abandoned. Harvard philosopher William Ernest Hocking, asking for "collectivism of a sort," rejected the collectivism both of a "headless liberalism" and of a "heady" communism or fascism. Paul Douglas, then an economist at the University of Chicago, called for organization of the weak and poor to force FDR's hand and move him toward a bolder program.

When we speak of the *militant* Left, however, we must move from the professors to the students, from the intellectuals to the labor organizers, from the lecture platform to the picket line. We must see the demonstrations of the unemployed, the farmers violently preventing foreclosures, the workers boarding streetcars and refusing to pay fare, the neighbors who moved the furniture of evicted families back into the tenements in New York City; and those who sailed off to fight in the Spanish Civil War. And then there were those fifty-five people in Chicago who were charged with dismantling an entire four-story building and carrying it away, brick by brick!

In that crazy, billowing, tangled web of the Left, I want to single out for comparison with today's radicals one key strand — the Communist-influenced Left. The Left of the thirties was much more than that, but I have two reasons for concentrating on that segment. First, it was undoubtedly stronger, more influential than the rest. Second, the comparison with today's radicals is a more than academic exercise; it may throw light on the accusations sometimes made that the New Left is either secretly Communist, or infiltrated by Communists or sympathetic to Maoism.

The Communist Party reported 12,000 members in 1932, and about 80,000 at the end of the decade. The turnover was lively, and in the thirties perhaps 100,000 or even 200,000 Americans moved in and out of the party, so that one might say several hundred thousand were directly influenced by Communist ideas. These people worked in the more militant unions of the CIO, in the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress, in fraternal societies like the International Workers Order, in civil rights groups like the National Negro Congress, in foreign policy groups like the American League Against War and Fascism.

To represent the New Left of today, while recognizing that there are other groups which might be considered part of it, I would discuss those elements I know best: the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which is the most aggressive of the civil rights groups working in the South; Students for a Democratic Society, which carries on a variety of activities on campuses, in depressed urban areas, on civil rights and foreign policy; and that assorted group of intellectuals, civil rights workers and just ordinary draft-card burners who have become active in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Before noting the differences between the old Left and the New Left, we should recognize their common ground. Both have been sharply, angrily critical of American society, at home and abroad. Both have pointed to poverty in the midst of wealth, to sins committed against the Negro, to limitations on free expression by Congressional committees and public prosecutors, to shameful behavior in foreign policy. And in this, both movements — despite characteristics which I find distasteful in the old Left and mostly missing in the New Left — have made contributions to the values in American society which almost all of us claim to cherish.

I see, first, in the new militants, a lack of ideology unthinkable in the old Left. Alfred Kazin (in *Starting Out in The Thirties)* referred to many leftists of his time as "ideologues." They were always attending classes on Marxist theory, buying or selling or arguing about works by the Big Four (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin), engaging in endless discussions on surplus value, dialectical materialism, the absolute impoverishment of the working class, Plekhanov's theory of the role of the individual, Stalin's views on the national question, Engels on the origin of the family, Lenin on economism, or imperialism, or social democracy or "the woman question."

The people in SNCC, by and large, know little about Marx. They have no manifesto or any other infallible guide to the truth. Their discussions are rarely theoretical, and deal mostly with day-to-day practical problems: the tent city in Lowndes County, hunger in Greenville, the Freedom Democratic Party, how to meet the next payroll for 130 field secretaries. SDS people I have met are more white than SNCC, more middle class, more intellectual, and thus have read more of Marx — but they don't seem to take it as gospel. I recently read a book of essays by SDS people, and found in it very little that was abstract, above the level of immediate issues. The old Left would have had a quotation from Lenin on the headquarters wall. In the dilapidated SNCC offices in Atlanta recently I saw:

> Ever danced out on a limb?
> It doesn't always break.
> And sometimes when it does you fall
> into a grassy meadow.

All this indicates an open-mindedness and a flexibility in the New Left that was rare in the thirties. There is a refreshing lack of pompous intellectuality, of quotations from the great, of a "line." There is an unfortunate side to this. The New Left lacks analysis of alternative tactics, systems, institutions: for instance, in the argument between Leon Keyserling and Robert Theobald on the question of working the American economic system to full capacity; or in whether public corporations or private cooperatives or nationalized enterprises would serve society best, and in what situations; or in how to work inside and outside the present two-party system; or in the problem of what institutions can substitute for the repressive state in a new society. The good side is a lack of commitment to a particular nation or system.

The old Left was rigidly committed: the nation was the Soviet Union and the system was socialism. Some adherents were disillusioned by Stalin's purges of old Bolsheviks in the thirties; others dropped away after the nonaggression pact with Germany. But many stood fast, held by the power of an earlier vow.

The new generation of radicals starts with no such oaths of loyalty. They have no illusions about the purity of any nation, any system. They have seen Stalinism unmasked—by Khrushchev himself. They have seen aggres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion, subversion and double-dealing on all sides, West as well as East, "free world" as well as "Communist world." They are very much aware of Russian aggression in Hungary, Chinese repression in Tibet, and the problem of power in the best of revolutions.

But they also know that the American CIA overthrew a democratically elected government in Guatemala, that the United States secretly conspired in the invasion of Cuba, that our Marines invaded the Dominican Republic in violation of the Rio Pact. They have grown up in a world where force and deception are ubiquitous, and they have developed what I believe is a healthy disposition to call the shots as they see them, no matter whose image is damaged.

The old Left was sectarian, suspicious and exclusive. The Socialists would expel Communists, the Trotskyists would expel Socialists, and the Communists would expel almost everyone. While SNCC indulges in some silly sniping at other civil rights groups, both SNCC and SDS are open organizations; they welcome anyone who will work, regardless of affiliation or ideology. One result is a succession of head shakings and warnings from various people about Communist infiltrators (this is the liberal counterpart of Communist suspiciousness), but SNCC and SDS have remained cool to the criticism. Bob Moses of SNCC, in the fall of 1963, responded to a *Life* article in which Theodore White referred accusingly to a "penetration" of SNCC by "unidentified elements." (White seemed bashful about saying that he meant Communists.) Moses replied: "It seems to me that . . . we have to throw what little weight we have on the side of free association. . . . "

There is an Existential quality to current radicalism that distinguishes it sharply from the style of the thirties. Marxists are rather unhappy with Existentialism, though Jean-Paul Sartre has made an attempt to reconcile his Existentialism with his Marxism. They find the Existentialist insufficiently aware of the binding force of history, incredulous of the idea of progress, excessively emotional, stubbornly individualist. The charge of emotionalism is true, but what of it? Blaise Pascal said in his *Pensées,* in the middle of the 17th century: "The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know. . . . " This may seem like sentimental spirituality, so ineffective (and we demand *effectiveness* today) in a cold world of *Realpolitik,* so subversive of the ironclad reason that marks modern man and particularly the modern atheistic radical. But we must now recognize that the point of ignition of the new radicalism was the civil rights movement, and this has been an emotional movement, as anyone who ever attended a mass meeting in a Negro church of the Deep South knows. One of the contributions of the new radicalism is to show that such emotionalism is not destructive of rationality, that passion in itself is morally neutral, capable of supporting any value, and that when it is attached to a humane cause it *contributes* to rational action. It does this because verbal discourse alone is a pale reflection of life, inadequate to convey the anguish that human beings feel; words need to be intensified by emotion if they are to describe accurately the reality of both suffering and joy.

Emotion plays not only this kind of supporting role for

rational decision making; it also has an initiating role in moral decisions. The logical positivists, from Hume to Hans Reichenbach, have told us that we cannot rationally deduce first statements about what *should* be. But we may very well *feel* them; and there is a shared feeling among people about certain basic values, which should not be discarded because it cannot, in the academic sense, be "proved." We *know,* we *feel,* that peace is preferable to war, nourishment to starvation, brotherhood to enmity; that it is better to be free than in jail, better to love than to hate, better to live than to die. And yet—this is the devilish power of human communication, the curse of language—we can be taught, *rationally,* that war is preferable to peace (all we ask is a few words of explanation from those on high who know and can soothe our troubled minds); that jail is preferable to freedom (due process and judicial respectability calm our indignation); that starvation is better than nourishment (for others, of course; thus we accept the destruction of crops if they are to feed "the enemy"). There are Soviet citizens, I am sure, who *feel* that it is wrong to send two writers to jail for what they have written; but the calm, reasonable explanations go forth and the feeling is smothered. Is it any wonder that this new generation of radicals so distrusts this perversion of "reason" that they are willing to trust their emotions in deciding what is right and what is wrong? I have quoted elsewhere one of the original SNCC organizers, a young white girl from Virginia named Jane Stembridge:

> . . . finally it all boils down to human relationships. It has nothing to do finally with governments. It is the question of . . . whether *I* shall go on living in isolation or whether there shall be a *we*. The student movement is not a cause . . . it is a collision between this one person and that one person. It is a *I am going to sit beside you.* . . . Love alone is radical. Political statements are not; programs are not; even going to jail is not. . . .

The radicals of the thirties believed fervently in the power of historical forces, churning away, moving the world inexorably toward a glorious future. This faith came from the historical materialism of Marxism, with its confident laying out of the stages of history. The radicals I know today do not feel thus bound by history. They accept neither the Marxist nor the Biblical nor any other organizing interpretation. What they know best is the present, and they consider it malleable by the power of their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own hands. When you have *made* history, when you have *forced* social change, the magic of a philosophy of history fades. In eleven years, if we date the movement from the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the militant youngsters of the Southern movement have moved mountains. To be sure, they have not moved them very far, but to move a mountain even a few inches gives a sense of power. "The Deep South Says Never," a journalist wrote after the Supreme Court decision. But Negroes are defying guns and subterfuge in Alabama and Mississippi, organizing their own parties, preparing to elect their own sheriffs, mayors, Congressmen. In Georgia, Negroes are sitting in the state legislature, and the expulsion of Julian Bond can be seen not only as a patriotic move to support the Vietnamese war by the freedom-loving members of the Georgia General Assembly but also as a belated outburst of anger at the sight of so many Negroes sitting in their formerly sacrosanct, all-white chamber. Southern Negroes are still poor, but they dare to strike in the Mississippi Delta against the plantation owner. They are still afraid, but not as afraid as they used to be. The active ones know that the changed atmosphere is not the result of beneficence from the succession of Great White Fathers in Washington, but of their own willingness to risk their lives, to march, to demonstrate, to go to jail; that Kennedy and Johnson did not act for them, but reacted to them. These Southern militants are off their knees, they have stretched their limbs, and are ready to do more, undeterred by notions of what history does or does not permit.

Yet when the hold of history is weakened there ensues not only awareness of freedom but a sense of despair. This is very much in the Existentialist mood, and quite different from the radicalism of the thirties. To the old radicals, revolution was always around the corner; the proletariat was always about to rise and smite the foe; capitalism was always about to collapse in one of its periodic economic crises; every bloody nose suffered by the Left was received as another sign of reactionary desperation. The great day of socialism was never far off—though it never dawned.

The New Left is not afraid to say that it is unsure of victory. Tom Hayden, writing in *The New Republic* some weeks ago, makes no cheery predictions about how SDS will transform America; he says: "Radicalism then would go beyond the concepts of optimism and pessimism as guides to work, finding itself in working despite odds. Its realism and sanity would be grounded in nothing more than the ability to face whatever comes." Michael Harrington commented on this in a subsequent issue, and was clearly unhappy. He needs to know he will win, and right away, and so seeks desperately to create a coalition which will have in it a majority of Americans. The new radical is more in tune with Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist orator, who wrote: "The reformer is careless of numbers, disregards popularity, and deals only with ideas, conscience, and common sense. . . . He neither expects nor is overanxious for immediate success." Phillips contrasted the reformer with the politician, who "dwells in an everlasting now. . . . " Similarly, James Russell Lowell wrote: "The Reformer must expect comparative isolation, and he must be strong enough to bear it." The new radicals derive their strength from the other side of Existentialist despair: a supreme sense of responsibility, an unrelenting activism.

The radicals of the thirties were immersed in traditional politics. They ran their candidates and sought entry into legislative bodies. William Z. Foster and Earl Browder were Communist candidates for President at various times; Norman Thomas was the perennial Socialist candidate. Their suspicion of parliamentary democracy did not seem very penetrating. It is a fact of American political life that the cards are stacked against minority candidates in our electoral college device, and in the single-district system by which we elect Congressmen. And even if a radical should break through, mysterious things begin to happen. Socialist Victor Berger, twice elected, was excluded from Congress in 1918 and 1919. Five Socialists elected to the New York State legislature were expelled also just after World War I. And when Communists began electing members to the City Council in New York under the system of proportional representation, the system was abolished. With all this, the Communist and Socialist Parties retained a touching faith in the ballot box.

Militants of today have worked hard in the South to register Negroes to vote; they formed the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi, the Black Panther Party in Alabama, and tried to oust the Mississippi Congressmen from their seats and replace them with black Mississippians. However, this vigor is accompanied by a basic mistrust of politics, and what seems to me, anyway, a sharper awareness than was shown in the thirties of the limitations of parliamentary democracy. The vote, today's radicals know, is only an occasional flicker of democracy in an otherwise elitist system; the voice of the people must therefore be manifested in other ways—by day-to-day activity, by demonstrations, by a politics of constant protest rather than by the traditional politics of the ballot.

The Left of the thirties had its organized gods: the Soviet Union, the party, the body of Marxist theory. The Left of today distrusts the crystallization of power in any form that becomes rigid and commanding. Only a few have read Robert Michels, but they seem to sense instinctively his thesis that there is an "iron law of oligarchy" in any organization, with power flowing toward the top. And so, in both SDS and SNCC, there is disparagement of leadership, a preoccupation with what is called "participatory democracy," an almost romantic notion that "the people" must decide things for themselves.

Perhaps memory and the historical records squeeze the juices out of the past, but the old Left was square. The new radicals are more cool, have more fun, are less puritanical, more irreverent. I remember, in the early days of the Atlanta student movement, Julian Bond's tiny couplet:

> Look at that gal shake that thing;
> We can't all be Martin Luther King.

In the thirties, Communists and their friends juggled deftly the categories of "just wars" and "unjust wars," using Marxist scripture and analyses from on high to help decide which was which. The Germans, Italians and Japanese were denounced for their acts of war against helpless peoples; the Russian attack on Finland was justified as a case of self-defense. World War II was unjust

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and imperialistic until the invasion on June 22, 1941, of the Soviet Union by Hitler; it then became a people's war. It must be said that here the Communists were very much in the modern liberal tradition: both Communists and liberals see war as an extension of the internal benevolence of the system they favor.

The New Left, on the other hand, is very much influenced by the nonviolent approach of the civil rights movement, joined to an ancient American streak of pacifism which goes back to Thoreau and the abolitionist movement. That it is not a pure nonviolence is attested by the movement's general approval of the Deacons in the Deep South; and if a revolution broke out in South Africa there would be support among the New Left for it, as there has been a good deal of sympathy for the Castro revolution in Cuba. Neither were the abolitionists pure in their pacifism; when the war came they decided to support it. I would guess that the distinctions which the New Left makes are in the first instance (that of the Deacons) between aggressive violence and self-defense; and in the second instance (South Africa, Cuba, Algeria) between traditional wars for national power and revolutionary uprisings for social goals.

While most old categories of radical thought do not neatly fit the New Left, I find a cluster of *anarchist* ideas at its core. There is the suspicion of organized power in any form, even the power of radical groups themselves. There is the fear of centralization, and thus a tendency for decisions to be made in the field rather than by executive committees. And there is the creation of parallel organizations inside the old structure, as a tiny fire around which people gather to keep warm, as a way of *showing*, rather than just talking about, what the future might be like. Hence the Freedom Parties, the Freedom Schools, the Freedom Houses, the Freedom Labor Union, the Free University, the Congress of Unrepresented People, and who knows what next. This is not the free enterpriser's rejection of national power, as was suggested recently by a writer in *The New Republic* who saw a curious similarity between the New Left and the old Right. The New Left recognizes that national power is essential for certain activities (economic planning, for instance, or protection of civil rights workers in the South). But it would maintain the organized power of citizens *outside* the government to prevent tyranny.

The militants of the thirties and those of today share a common ground of concern: the abolition of war, of poverty, of racial discrimination, of political imprisonment. Both groups look ultimately to a society where cooperation and affection would replace the scramble for money and power, while leaving the individual free to determine his own way of enjoying life and love. These are marvelously desirable ends. But the leftists of the thirties committed a deadly ethical error: they made absolutes of the means which they would use to achieve these ends — the absolutes of Marxism, the party, the Soviet Union, socialism. When the means become absolutes, then it is immediately possible, even probable, that the original ends will be forgotten or distorted. By allowing that to happen, the radicals of that day lost the chance to break new ethical ground, and followed the example of other social currents in modern times: a loving Christ-centered religion crystallized in the church, in ritual, in dogma; liberalism crystallized in the modern parliamentary, capitalist, jingoistic state; education and intellect crystallized in the Ph.D., the university, the scholarly monograph and the mass media.

The militant Left of the sixties has so far been fluid and freewheeling, refusing to deify any nation, any person, any ideological system; and yet holding fast—to the point of prison, of assault, even death—to a core of beliefs about the value of the individual human being. This is not to deny that there are lapses, faults, aberrations, irrationalities, pettinesses, absurdities, or that the danger of creating absolutes is not there every moment. No one can predict what will happen tomorrow. But right now the New Left looks not only concerned but honest, open, free of icons, full of courage and, above all, *alive*.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The World Court's Ticklish Case

The issue discussed below is of such vital importance to the development of international relations, and has received such inadequate public discussion, that The Nation *has prepared this history and analysis of the situation.*—The Editors

The *South West Africa Cases* now before the World Court at The Hague are an almost unnoticed drama in the global struggle for racial equality. This litigation is but the most recent phase in an extended dispute between South Africa and the United Nations that has arisen out of the former's refusal to respect the international status of the mandated territory of South West Africa. (The area is almost as big as Texas and is populated by about 500,000 inhabitants, more than 80 per cent of whom are black.) Ethiopia and Liberia initiated these proceedings in 1960, and a final judgment is expected shortly.

The controversy centers upon the Ethiopian and Liberian contention that South Africa is violating specific provisions of the mandate instrument, an international agreement that established in 1920 the relationship between the administering mandatory state (South Africa) and the organized international community (initially the League of Nations). Legal argument is directed at two main sets of issues. First, the extent to which the United Nations succeeds the League of Nations as the administrative authority responsible for supervising compliance with the mandate. And second, the charge that the imposition of apartheid upon the life of South West Africa is incompatible with South Africa's obli-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gation under the mandate to promote the well-being of the inhabitants.

South Africa has recently completed the procedure of calling a series of exotic witnesses before the Court to testify that apartheid works for the benefit of South West Africa and that its abolition would produce bloodshed and chaos. These witnesses have included local experts on "Native affairs," social scientists (including two American professors) and theologians. The oral proceedings were concluded a few weeks ago and now the judges of the World Court will have to come to a decision, a process that may take several months as a consequence of the complexity and importance of the issues in dispute.

Although the case receives scant coverage in the United States and Europe, it is closely followed throughout Africa. Observers of the proceedings at The Hague believe that South Africa's legal tactics are guided by decisions taken at the highest levels in Pretoria. The South African arguments have been brilliantly prepared and presented, and the large legal staff seems unusually talented. Why, it may be asked, has South Africa put such an enormous effort into a case that it is almost certain to lose? This question is not easy to answer, but the South African defeat, although probable, is not nearly so assured as progressive observers would wish, or perhaps are assuming. Besides, South Africa seems to be aiming at results that are peripheral to a victory in the litigation. For one thing, it is putting on a morality play for its population back home, documenting an enormous record on behalf of its contention, perhaps honestly held by its present leadership, that apartheid is a beneficial social system, given the special character of African reality.

It is not at all easy to demonstrate to a court of law that apartheid is illegal, or even bad. What test can be used to assess whether apartheid promotes or retards well-being and progress? It must be a test that can be judicially applied. Two of the most prominent judges on the Court, its Australian president, Sir Percy Spender, and its scholarly British member, Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, joined in a long and vigorous opinion in 1962 dissenting from the acceptance of jurisdiction over this dispute by the World Court on the principal ground that the obligation was far too vague to be susceptible to judicial delimitation. In fact, the Court accepted jurisdiction by a vote of 8 to 7, and it is the closeness of this vote that partly explains why informed observers anticipate the judgment with nothing more confident than cautious optimism.

It is well to appreciate that the World Court is a special kind of judicial institution, and one that is vulnerable to both insecurity and pressure. For one thing, it decides disputes between sovereign states. This is a touchy matter, since enforcement must depend so heavily on voluntary compliance. Accordingly, every effort is made by the Court to reach a result that will be accepted by the losing side and certainly great tolerance is accorded the defendant state so that it can present its case as it sees fit. To some extent South Africa has taken advantage of this indulgent attitude, submitting its argument in overwhelming and redundant detail, presenting witnesses and experts on materials already covered, and even proposing to the Court that it visit South West Africa and a series of other African states, including Ethiopia and Liberia, on an inspection trip. Near the end of the oral proceedings the Court rejected the inspection proposal by a vote of 8 to 6. If the Court had decided to go on the safari proposed by South Africa, it is unclear what it might have seen that could properly have influenced its decision. For the plaintiff states have based their case on the legal theory that the practice of apartheid is *necessarily* incompatible with human welfare—that is, no matter how happy or prosperous the inhabitants of South West Africa might appear to be, nevertheless the act of a compulsory separation of the races is a humiliation so severe that it is, as a matter of law, a violation of the mandate.

Such a legal theory was obviously formulated, in part, to meet the contention that South Africa's obligation to promote the welfare of the inhabitants is too vague to be construed by a court of law. But a theory that discourages the Court from assessing the effect of apartheid upon the actual life of the territory risks cutting the argument off from its moral premises, bringing some measure of artificiality and confusion to the proceedings. For there is no doubt that the litigation was brought in the spirit of condemnation, that the plaintiff states regard apartheid as a deplorable system of social administration; the pleadings are full of material suggesting that apartheid is not only illegal but bad, or rather, that it is illegal precisely because it is bad.

South African counsel have called attention to the inconsistency of the plaintiffs' attempt both to arouse the sympathies of the Court by introducing material unfavorable to apartheid and at the same time (to avoid having the case dismissed as nonjusticiable) to argue that the interpretation of the mandate does not require any judgment to be passed upon apartheid as a system. The plaintiff states deny that the moral judgment of apartheid is being avoided by their insistence that it is neither appropriate nor necessary for the Court to pass such a judgment. On the contrary, the plaintiff states say that the condemnation of apartheid has already taken place in such an authoritative form that it can serve as a premise for the litigation and provide the clear criterion by which to test compliance with the mandate. In essence, Ethiopia and Liberia argue that formal and repeated condemnations of apartheid by the United Nations have placed it in the same category of reprehensible conduct as genocide. This reasoning acquires additional force in that the essence of a mandate is that the territory in question is to be administered to promote the well-being of the inhabitants as well-being is defined by international society.

The mandates system was an outgrowth of the peace settlement following World War I. Woodrow Wilson convinced the Allied powers that Germany's colonies should not be divided up among the victors but should instead be administered, on behalf of international society as represented by the League of Nations, and prepared gradually for self-government and national independence. South West Africa is the sole mandate surviving from League days. Or does it survive? South Africa contends that, with the termination of the League, the mandate lapsed and left it in sovereign control. Earlier opinions of the Court, rendered in its advisory capacity to the United Nations, seem quite clearly to confirm the view that the mandate has survived

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that South Africa as mandatory is subject to some UN supervision.

If the mandate has not lapsed, and there is some consequent obligation to accept international supervision, the question remains: how much? Does it include an obligation to accept international views on moral and social well-being? Here is the crux of the controversy. The principles of the mandate concept are contained in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Basic to this concept was the idea that the people of the territory were "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," that "tutelage" was to be exercised "on behalf of the League," and that the standard of administration rested upon "the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." South Africa says that it subscribes fully to this language in the Covenant but that it knows best how to implement it, and that, in fact, it has the responsibility to exercise its discretion to this end.

To support this contention South Africa points to other language in the Covenant that indicates that "the tutelage should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it." And Article 22 makes a special reference to South West Africa, which because of its special circumstances "can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory." South Africa makes much of this language, especially when coupled with the awareness and acceptance of apartheid on the part of the competent organs of the League. The argument rests on the contention that if the mandate has not lapsed with the League then, at least, its provisions must be interpreted to accord with the intentions of those that drafted, accepted and administered the arrangement throughout the 1920s.

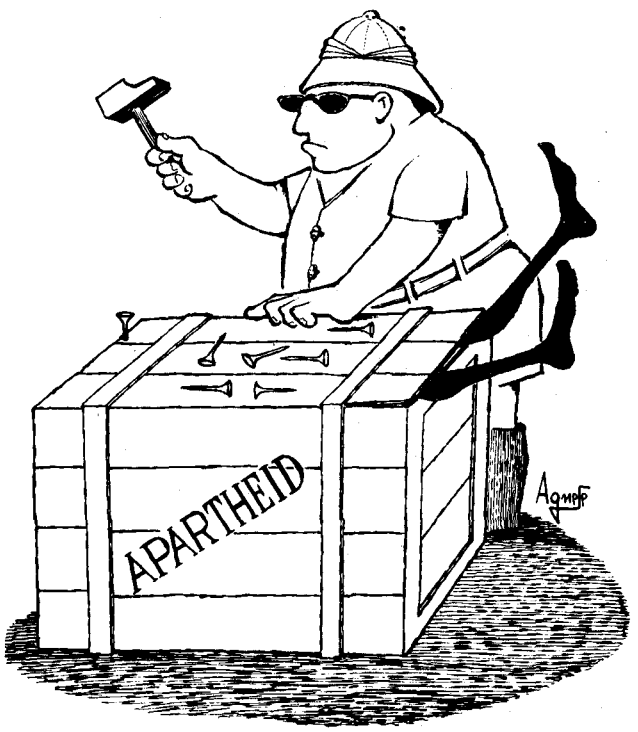
South Africa also asserts that the duty to promote the well-being of the inhabitants in Article 2(2) of the mandate must be read in light of Article 2(1): "The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present Mandate as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require." South Africa argues strongly from this that it is entitled to determine what the well-being of the inhabitants requires, and that it has a legal duty to do so, a legal duty that it is discharging in the manner envisioned—that is, by administering the territory as an integral part of South Africa.

It is this line of argument that has most deeply challenged Ethiopia and Liberia. Their response, prepared under the energetic and imaginative leadership of Ernest A. Gross, former American diplomat in the United Nations, is to stress the law-creating role of the will of the international community, as providing a criterion of well-being. Great stress is laid upon the virtually unanimous condemnation of apartheid by formal action of organs of the UN. Nations that can agree on nothing else have been able to express their joint view that apartheid is incompatible with human welfare, and that its continuing practice constitutes even a danger to international peace. In the setting of a mandate, then, the relevance of international condemnation appears especially persuasive. For certainly the idea that the mandatory holds the mandate as a sacred trust on behalf of international society is mocked if apartheid can be presented as a discharge of the duty to promote the welfare of the inhabitants. Given this circumstance, an elaborate appraisal of the actual effects of apartheid would be superfluous.

South Africa's answer to this line of attack has also been fully formulated, and is not so easily disposed of. Their claim is that apartheid, or as they prefer to call it "separate development," has not been properly understood on the international level, that it is not at all discriminatory or oppressive in its intention or in its operation, that it alone fosters the growth of a "multi-community society" and offers the various tribal groups in South West Africa the best means to maintain their dignity and pride, to live in peace together, and to progress in accord with their distinctive abilities and values. Come and see, South Africa pleads, or at least read fairly our voluminous briefs and listen to our respectable witnesses.

The plaintiffs did not bring witnesses of their own, contenting themselves with cross-examination aimed principally at showing that, despite glowing reports, the lifeblood of apartheid is the merciless exploitation of a black majority by a privileged white minority; that when one penetrates beneath the slogans of separate development one finds a caste system in which the blacks supply cheap labor and servants for the white inhabitants, and that the result is oppression legitimized by the social and political order and reinforced by resort to the most distressing tactics of a police state. "Natives" (the South African name for non-whites) are denied rights of free travel or free employment, they are forbidden to rise above a menial level in the economy, and they are forced to dwell either in native districts or in inconveniently situated black ghetto towns.

The South Africans try to counter by saying that these



The South West Africa "Case"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

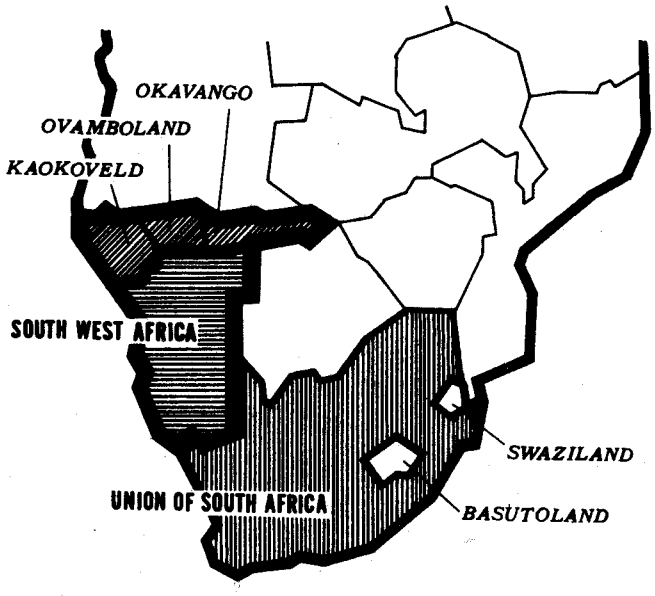
matters are "details" of the system and that, besides, their existence must be appraised in the total context of African conditions. Perhaps, they reason, blacks can't go to advanced schools, but a very small percentage of them are fully educated in African societies where apartheid does not exist. In fact, a comparison between South West Africa and other countries in black Africa (including Ethiopia and Liberia), in terms of health, education, employment, housing and any other indicia of human welfare, will disclose, say the South Africans, that more has been done to promote the welfare of the native groups in the mandate than in the African countries that are attacking its government most vehemently. On this, the plaintiff states that as long as the material benefits conferred upon the inhabitants are associated with racial discrimination, they do not promote welfare.

And so the central controversy runs. It seems clear that the real difficulty for Ethiopia and Liberia is to offer the Court a judicially satisfactory way to declare apartheid illegal. The World Court has a rare opportunity. At last it has jurisdiction over a dispute with great political significance, its participation was sought by African states with the enthusiastic backing of the Organization of African Unity, and it is being asked to implement the will of the international community in an area charged with moral and psychological implications. Nevertheless, certain experts have regretted that the Court was ever entrusted with the *South West Africa Cases*, reasoning that its prestige will suffer, however it decides. If the Court acts against Ethiopia and Liberia, it will seem to ally itself with the forces of reaction and oppression: if it moves against South Africa, it will simultaneously dramatize its subservience to political pressure and its inability to enforce its judgments, thereby demonstrating the futility of international adjudication.

Certainly, it is not an easy case for the World Court. The judges are aware that the politic course would be to denounce South Africa and give Ethiopia and Liberia the relief they ask. But the Court is not equipped with either the temperament or the traditions of a political body. Its judges are mostly distinguished as international jurists. Their temper is much more conservative than is, say, that of the present Supreme Court in the United States. Even the Polish judge voted against accepting jurisdiction over the case, as did judges from France, England, Australia, Italy, Greece and, of course, the *ad hoc* judge who was appointed by South Africa.

At least some members of the Court must be thankful for the *South West Africa Cases*. For once, the Court presides over an exciting dispute in which the vital interests of states are involved. In these hearings, also, is an opportunity to gain favorable publicity for the Court by showing that its judgments are relevant to the overall quest for greater world order and justice. And the litigation has a great potential importance to the development of international law. The Court has the chance to decide whether formal acts of the organs of the United Nations—the Resolutions of the General Assembly—have a law-creating effect, and whether the condemnations of apartheid have evolved into a prohibitive norm of international law.

Ethiopia and Liberia ask that the Court order South Africa to cease at once the practice of apartheid in South West



Africa. Some observers expect that the Court will refuse this relief, partly because of an inability to carry out such a judgment, and partly because such a decree would impose an unreasonable and irresponsible demand upon the South Africans. It is, in this view, more likely that the Court will denounce apartheid as a violation of the mandate, but adopt a gradualist approach to its elimination.

The enforcement problem may turn out to be not so insoluble if two quite distinct possibilities come to pass. First, South Africa may be persuaded to moderate its noncompliance and at least accept the obligation to submit to some measure of international administration. Such a reaction would not be prompted by any law-abiding impulse, but rather by a calculation that a somewhat cooperative attitude would discourage the United Nations from taking more drastic action. Second, the more conservative critics of South Africa's racial policies, among them the United States, France and the United Kingdom, might be persuaded of the need, despite their vested economic interests, to impose really effective sanctions, thus building some confidence in the processes of international adjudication and avoiding the impression that a decision by the World Court is of no importance. Such a response has a legal base in the Charter: Article 94 obliges each member to "comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party," and adds: "If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to that judgment." Article 94 seems to strengthen the hand of those that seek sanctions, although it should be pointed out that the scope of the judgment has direct relevance only to the administration of South West Africa.

However, South Africa itself may eventually be brought within the reach of the judgment. The plaintiff states have argued that the formal acts of the organs of the UN, together with the prohibition of racial discrimination contained in the Charter itself, make the practice of apartheid, as such, a violation of international law. In effect, the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tention is that there now exists a human-rights norm which has as its minimum content the prohibition of governmentally authorized racial discrimination (i.e., apartheid). Such a rationale would be as applicable to the Republic itself as to the assessment of its special mandate responsibility.

Some followers of the hearings feel that the Court is unlikely to decide on this basis, since it means that a rule of international law can emerge over the opposition of a sovereign state and, thus, would result in giving the General Assembly a limited legislative competence. Such a decision would, however, open the way for the gradual strengthening of the international protection of human rights, and would eliminate the traditional notion that each and every state has a paralyzing veto power over the law-creating processes at work in international society.

Of course, the racial policies of South Africa itself could not be brought before the World Court. A state cannot be made a party to such a proceeding unless it gives its consent, something South Africa would never do. But because the mandate contains a so-called "compromissory clause," any member of the League was entitled to bring a dispute with the mandatory to the World Court. That is, with respect to the mandate, South Africa has given its consent in advance.

The *South West Africa Cases* are important for the resolution of the dispute between the United Nations and South Africa on the issue of apartheid; they are important as a battle against vestiges of the colonial system, insofar as South Africa governs South West Africa as a dependent possession; they are important in the struggle to build up a human-rights law to help in the fight against racial discrimination, and they are important to enhance the prestige of the World Court and to strengthen the capability of the organs of the United Nations to promote, by their formal acts, the growth of international law. On all these grounds, the governments of the world, if not as yet a sufficient proportion of their citizens, await the judgment of the International Court of Justice in a spirit of excited anticipation.

BATTLE IN THE WILDERNESS

The Benevolent Wreckers

LOIS PHILLIPS HUDSON

Mrs. Hudson has had short stories published in The Atlantic Monthly, The New Yorker *and elsewhere. Her first novel,* The Bones of Plenty, *published by Little, Brown, was awarded first prize in 1963 by the Friends of American Writers.*

More than twenty years ago, the great forester and conservationist, Aldo Leopold, prophesied a time when one arm of the government would destroy what another arm supposedly had preserved—all in the name of conservation. "At what point," Leopold wondered, "will government conservation, like the mastodon, become handicapped by its own dimensions?" If Leopold were alive today, he might feel that the Wilderness Bill expresses as many of his apprehensions as it does of his hopes.

The act (Public Law 88-577), which became law in September, 1964, contains qualifications which constitute major and continuing threats to preserved lands which most of us thought would be safe forever, once the bill finally managed to get through both houses of Congress. Among the qualifications which worry national foresters most are the provisions for water development within long-protected areas. Of the eighty-eight areas in fourteen states managed by the U. S. Forest Service primarily to protect wilderness values, only fifty-four, or 9 million of 14 million acres, are now included in the new National Wilderness Preservation System. These fifty-four areas are to be invaded by no roads, mechanical transportation or permanent commercial developments, *with the exceptions* of some livestock grazing, all kinds of mining and the development of water resources. Prospecting will be permitted until 1984, under a clause inserted into the bill by Rep. Wayne Aspinall's House Interior Committee, and new mineral discoveries could conceivably devastate some preserved areas; but the great and continuing threat is posed by public and private water projects.

Whether the sponsors are public or private, projects proposed for wilderness areas must be authorized by the President—a "safeguard" which will be exercised much more rigorously by some Presidents than by others. Nor have the spheres of authority between the President and the Federal Power Commission yet been tested in any court. In fact, no test has yet been made of a President's ability to withstand the many pressures which accompany schemes for manipulating our rapidly dwindling supply of water, but an extreme optimist might believe that, though the threat will exist until the law is changed, under the present Administration the fifty-four wilderness areas now protected by the Wilderness Act are "saved."

But what of the other thirty-four areas, not yet brought under the somewhat equivocal protection of the act, which differ from "wilderness areas" mainly in the terminology applied to them years ago by the Forest Service? Those, termed "primitive areas," not only contain some of the most spectacular and remote of the original eighty-eight "roadless areas"; they have also for the past twenty-six years been administered by the Forest Service exactly as have the "wilderness areas." Yet they were not included from the start in the Wilderness Act, and the Forest Service was given, in 1964, ten years in which to process each area individually. Now, a year and a half after the passage of the act—because of the many governmental bureaus involved, and because each of these areas must be included in the National Wilderness Preservation System by a special act of Congress—not one of the thirty-four has yet made the grade. At the moment, one of the first "primitive areas" to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be recommended for inclusion by the Forest Service is in critical trouble.

If the Flat Tops Primitive Area can be invaded by a private power company before it has been approved by Congress, then the largest and most valuable section of it will never be able to qualify as a "wilderness area," though it has been preserved against roads or commercial development for thirty-four years. A brief sketch of the hurdles standing between this area and even the dubious haven of the Wilderness Act will illustrate the problems of the Forest Service. In the first place, the foresters in charge of Colorado's White River National Forest, in which Flat Tops is included, are ready with their report and recommendation—but they cannot send it on to the Regional Forester (there are ten regions in the United States) until the U. S. Geological Survey has completed a study of possible valuable minerals in the area. Besides being woefully understaffed, the Geological Survey is a branch of the government under a different Cabinet officer—the Secretary of the Interior. Here is Leopold's cumbersome mastodon at work.

When the local foresters' recommendation finally reaches the Regional Forester, it is passed on by him to the Chief Forester in Washington. The Chief Forester then passes it, with his own suggestions, to *his* boss, the Secretary of Agriculture. At this point, local hearings must be held in the vicinity of the proposed wilderness area, so that miners, stockmen and other private interests may have an opportunity to air their views on the uses of this land. Then the Secretary of Agriculture submits the recommendation, along with *his* suggestions to *his* boss, the President.

The President, appending his own recommendations to the recommendation, then submits it to the House. And, after such a long course, the race with time will really have just begun, for the recommendation has an excellent chance of being bottled up for months in Representative Aspinall's Interior Committee. Aspinall blocked the passage of the Wilderness Act for session after session of Congress, until finally he managed to have written into it many of the concessions to private interests which now so severely limit its power to protect the wilderness it was written to save.

The Forest Service, thus, has a long way to go with Flat Tops, and the power company may win before the race has run its first lap. For the Federal Power Commission will decide on May 23 whether or not to license the Rocky Mountain Power Company to build a $130 million project which would deeply penetrate the Flat Tops Primitive Area.

The region is unique in all the varied topography of the Rocky Mountains. As its name implies, instead of being a typically rugged range of peaks from 10,000 to 12,000 feet in altitude, Flat Tops is 117,000 acres of rolling meadows and mixed forests, climaxed, above timber line, by vast bare plateaus which end in perpendicular volcanic cliffs dropping more than half a mile straight to the surrounding high valleys of the White River Forest. Within the area which will be recommended to the Chief Forester for permanent protection rise the headwaters of both the North and South Forks of the White River, a major tributary of the Colorado River basin. Roaring creeks have slashed vertical, narrow, curving canyons 2,000 feet deep through the plateaus, and at the southern boundary of Flat Tops, the South Fork of the White River has worn a 3,000-foot canyon so savagely steep that for 15 miles of its length the only access to the river is by foot or horse trail.

Prejudiced fishermen declare this stretch of the South Fork to be the finest primitive trout stream remaining in the United States; less prejudiced fishermen will settle for classifying it as *"one* of the finest." They are appalled by the prospect of a 2-mile-long, fluctuating reservoir, with pumping and power installations, high-tension wires, housing for dam technicians, and heavy-duty roads.

Nor do the hunters who converge on Flat Tops and the surrounding National Forest lands from all of the fifty states look forward to a network of dams and power lines, with well-maintained service roads across at least half of the primitive area. For Flat Tops is the summer range of 18,000 elk, which browse at the very highest edges of the plateaus, far above timber line. In winter, they retreat to lower pastures, many of them remaining along the southern sides of the great canyons. Flat Tops is also the summer range of the largest deer herd in the state of Colorado, and of Rocky Mountain sheep.

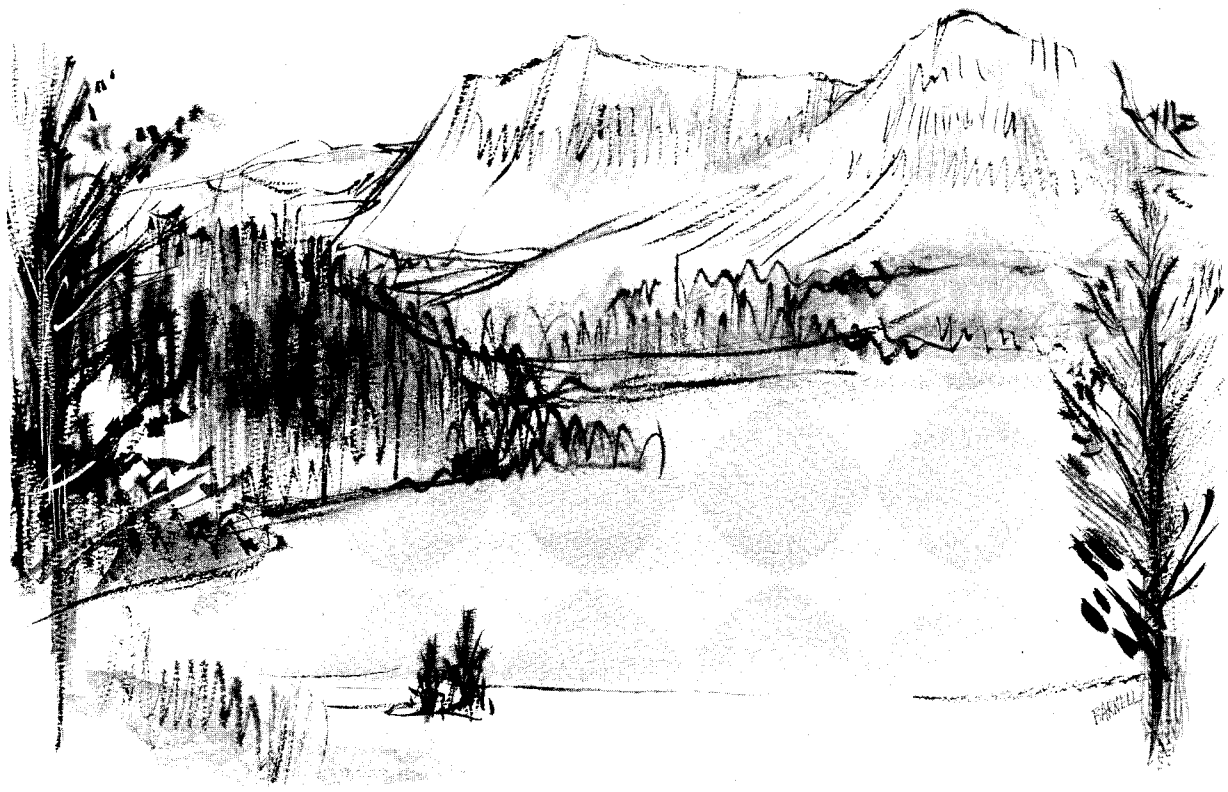
In winter, both elk and sheep will come close to habitations. (I have seen a huge-horned ram, with his harem of six, nonchalantly retrieving fallen apples from the snow of an orchard bordering a major highway.) But in summer these animals appear to be repelled by all human devices. A permanent, far-reaching human encroachment on the Flat Tops Primitive Area could result in one of those mysterious declines of wild animal populations.

Although I had visited the perimeters of the Flat Tops area in summer, and had watched boaters and fishermen canoeing and angling on Sweetwater Lake, which shelters beneath the cliffs of the volcanic rim, I was not prepared for the grandness of the country in wintertime. On a frosty morning last January, accompanied by the supervisor of the 2-million-acre forest, the ranger in charge of the Flat Tops Area and the Colorado State Fish and Game Warden, and piloted by a former Alaska bush pilot, I took off from the shockingly brief Glenwood Springs airstrip, walled on all sides by Glenwood Canyon, and flew for more than an hour over the plateaus and meadows and canyons.

We flew so low that we could clearly see the markings of the animals which still live in a place unmarked by man. As Pilot Dick Chatfield banked the plane down toward a bluish trail in the snow, Supervisor Jack Smith leaned forward and said loudly in my ear, "Those are coyote tracks down there." Presently he leaned forward again and said, "You see that flat place, with all that brush at one end? Well, that's a small lake, and the brush is around good beaver country." Then he exclaimed, "Quick! Do you see those elk?" I didn't. We had to make a second pass over the elk herd, lying peacefully in a thin spruce grove. Then I saw them, their long curving necks and great ears silhouetted against the snow, their huge bodies as shapely, and seemingly as *planted* as the dark trees they rested among.

"But you should really see this place in the spring and summer," yelled Ranger Kent Quinkert into my other ear. "It's just one big flower garden." And, still shouting over the noise of the little plane, Quinkert named the wildflowers that colored the cliffs and plateaus. "They're all here, all of the flowers you can find anywhere in the Rocky Moun-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



tains. When one species stops blooming, another begins. Finally, the alpines take over these highest plateaus—these little plants, 2 or 3 inches high, all colors of them—and it's all green, so green in the summer."

When I asked Jim Reser, the State Fish and Game man, what kinds of fish could be caught in these lakes and creeks, he replied with an awesome inventory. "Well, there's brook and brown and rainbow and cutthroat and yellow cutthroat trout and native, which is a kind of a subspecies of yellow," he began. "And there's Kokanee salmon—that's a landlocked salmon, but it still spawns best in a creek bed. But for that matter, all of these fish have to spawn either in a fairly calm creek gravel bed or in the shallows of a lake. Look down there."

I looked. We were flying over Sweetwater Lake, which is scheduled to be erased by a reservoir. I could see ice fishermen sitting patiently beside their holes in the 2-foot ice of the lake. "I'll tell you one thing," said Mr. Reser. "There won't be any more ice fishing in this lake if they make a great big muddy reservoir out of it. You don't have ice fishing on water that fluctuates 15 feet every day and 30 feet on weekends."

The threat to Flat Tops constitutes a classic battle between people who believe in preserving our last bits of wilderness and people who believe that immediate utilization of our most visible resources should be the overriding concern of an explosively populating continent. The group that may well triumph over the Forest Service on May 23 is headed by a man who has given much of his life to serving the people of the United States. He is Charles F. Brannan, president and chief counsel for the Rocky Mountain Power Company, a New Deal fighter for rural electrification and Secretary of Agriculture under President Truman. When I talked with Mr. Brannan in his office in the Denver Farmers Union Building, he told me that he was interested in procuring the cheapest possible power for citizens of the regions surrounding the Colorado Rockies, and notably for the people of Nebraska, to whom the Rocky Mountain Power Company would sell electricity through public cooperatives at a rate far cheaper than that state, with no rushing mountain streams and no vast coal fields, could otherwise possibly offer it. Nuclear power, Mr. Brannan believes, is not a practical alternative, except when the plant can be built on the seashore, where water without limit is available for cooling the reactor. In short, neither Mr. Brannan nor his company, in its petition presented to the Federal Power Commission, has proposed any alternative to the immediate invasion of an area which has been protected from roads or any other commercial development for thirty-four years.

Yet during his term as Secretary of Agriculture, Brannan approved the reclassification of nearly 2 million acres of National Forest land into more protected categories ("wild," "wilderness," "primitive," etc.) and today he freely admits that he is fighting "a number of old friends in the Forest Service." He also insists that the need for power is critical, and that the site chosen by his company is "one of the finest natural sites in the United States for a pumped storage hydroelectric plant." By "finest," of course, Mr. Brannan means *cheapest* from a power company's standpoint.

Without questioning Mr. Brannan's sincerity, it seems necessary to note that opposing views have come from the same government which, with its Federal Power Commission mouth, declares that our country desperately needs more power. (Now the mastodon begins to seem more like the hydra.) For example, last year the Defense Electric Power Administration of the Interior Department published a study based on statistics from 1,500 utility companies, the conclusion being that the 206 largest power plants in the nation could be knocked out by nuclear bombs, and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country would still have "more than enough generating capacity to meet the post-nuclear demand." The cause of last December's long blackout of the Northeast was not a shortage of power but its poorly engineered distribution. With the recent technological improvements in long-distance transmission, the need to produce energy in a given locality becomes ever more debatable.

Other arguments for invading a wilderness area in order to produce "the most economical" power appear to be equally debatable, if one listens to all of the words of the mastodon—or hydra. Sen. Clinton Anderson claims that a new thermal plant at the "Four Corners" of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona will soon produce power for sale at 4 mills per kilowatt-hour—significantly less than the 5.5 mills for which Rocky Mountain Power proposes to sell power from the Flat Tops Primitive Area outside the state of Colorado. Even more arresting is the prediction of the U. S. Office of Science and Technology that within ten years nuclear plants will produce power for 2.5 mills.

And to cite still another voice, Commissioner Dominy of the Bureau of Reclamation (and the arch foe of many conservation groups because of his insistence on a series of dams in the Grand Canyon) played into those conservationists' hands in 1963 by testifying before a Senate subcommittee: "I think if we were to put the same effort into nuclear power for hydroelectric purposes and desalinization purposes [which we now put into damming lakes and streams] we could solve this problem in a few years."

The Rocky Mountain Power Company points out that all of its various developments in the area will require only a few hundred acres. But the far-flung *distribution* of those acres would have a devastating effect on tens of thousands of primitive acres. It takes only a few acres of road to change forever the natural character of a roadless area. And once the roads have acquired the status of "established use," it is almost impossible to close them again, as the most superficial study of history of many formerly "roadless areas" will disclose.

The ultimate question put to the Rocky Mountain Power Company—as to all would-be invaders of "preserved" wilderness areas—is now being asked by scores of conservation groups, from the Colorado Mountain Club to the Izaak Walton League: Since eventually we are fated to run out of streams and lakes to dam, wouldn't it be better to concentrate *now* on developing alternate sources of power and water, instead of waiting until the last natural lake has been turned into a fluctuating, muddy reservoir, and the last free-running river has been forever transformed into a series of still-water impoundments, with reservoirs from one dam stretching to the toe of the next dam?

If we can decide to attack the problems of water and power with this kind of foresight, we can probably save many wilderness areas which now appear to be doomed. But we shall have to act quickly; every concerned citizen will have to let his Congressman, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, the President, know how he feels. Otherwise, the mastodon, lumbering about the delicate business of conservation, is almost certain to take a fatal turn.

In the contest between the fish and the Rocky Mountain Power Company, the fish have already lost the first round. The Colorado Game, Fish and Parks Department went to court to find out whether it could require the company to release the minimum amounts of water necessary to sustain fish life in the many streams which would be affected by the various diversions. In two court tests the Game and Fish Department lost. The state courts ruled that the company was required by law to release from its numerous dams only the amount of water which had previously been adjudicated to ranchers along the streams. This previously adjudicated water is not nearly enough to maintain the fisheries, and whether or not the company chooses to release enough water to insure survival of the life in the streams it affects will be entirely up to its own "corporate conscience."

The future for Flat Tops looks gloomy, but recently established precedents give some encouragement. In December, 1965, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit revoked a license granted by the Federal Power Commission to Consolidated Edison of New York, which sought to build the largest pumped storage project in the world on the particularly "fine natural site" of Storm King, which is also a site of great scenic and historic value, though it was not in a federally protected area. The court found that ". . . [if we consider] a basic concern [to be] the preservation of natural beauty and of national historic shrines . . . in our affluent society, the cost of a project is only one of several factors to be considered. The record as it comes to us fails markedly to make out a case for the Storm King project on, among other matters, costs, public convenience and necessity, and *absence of reasonable alternatives.*" (Italics mine.)

Has the Rocky Mountain Power Company demonstrated "an absence of reasonable alternatives" to the invasion of a primitive area? Or, to put the question another way—a way in which it is seldom asked—has the Rocky Mountain Power Company demonstrated "reasonable alternatives" for the wilderness it proposes to destroy?

The stated reason for the existence of the U. S. Forest Service is to "strive, as directed by Congress, to provide increasingly greater service to a growing Nation." The conflicting values of the various sorts of "multiple use" will have to be ever more carefully weighed, if the greatest good of the public owners of the forests is to be served. An aroused and concerned public may well feel that our present 14 million acres of preserved wilderness and primitive areas is too small rather than too large a fraction of the 186 million acres in the National Forest system. An aroused public may even insist, in time, that the Wilderness Act, so watered down in Congressman Aspinall's Interior Committee, have some of the teeth of the original Senate bill restored to it. The more our nation grows, the more we may find ourselves agreeing with those men who, having given their lives to protecting wilderness, hope they "won't live to see those dams."

And the more our nation grows, the more essential it will be for us to let our Forest Service know exactly how it may best "provide increasingly greater service to a growing Nation." Quite possibly, the majority of us might decide that the Forest Service should be given unequivocal support in its efforts to preserve a small mountain lake to which men will drive for four hours through an icy treacherous darkness in order to sit on more ice for six hours and fish.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Profusion of Information

PROPAGANDA: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. *By Jacques Ellul. Translated from the French by Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner. Alfred A. Knopf. 320 pp. $8.95.*

CHRISTOPHER LASCH

A member of the History Department at the University of Iowa, Mr. Lasch is the author, most recently, of The New Radicalism in America 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type *(Knopf).*

Modern propaganda, according to Jacques Ellul, is not the work of unscrupulous men acting from evil motives but an inescapable means of governing. In mass societies, the state can neither govern without mass support nor govern in accordance with mass wishes, since the masses, unlike conventional democratic electorates, are politically incoherent and incapable of rationally directing policy. Thus, "even in a democracy, a government that is honest, serious, benevolent, and respects the voter *cannot follow* public opinion. But it *cannot escape* it either." Hence the need for propaganda. By means of propaganda the state tries to give the masses the illusion of participation without the reality. It not only informs them of its decisions but subtly suggests that it is the masses themselves which have demanded them.

The rest of Ellul's argument follows from this analysis of the function of propaganda. Propaganda does not lie, according to Ellul; at least it does not lie as to facts. But neither does the propagandist trust in the critical judgment of the people he addresses. Everything he does has the effect of making it impossible for people to bring critical judgment to bear on the policies which he is trying to promote. He does not withhold or falsify information; he overwhelms the public with it, and the facts themselves demoralize the reader or listener by giving him the impression that he lives in a terrifying world in which the problems of government are too complicated for anyone but experts to understand. At the same time the reader craves to be informed and would object if he were deprived of access to the news. Information accordingly becomes a doubly effective means of propaganda: it sustains the morale of the reader by reassuring him that the state wishes to keep its citizens informed—thus fostering the illusion of participation—while at the same time terrifying the reader with the complexity and danger of events—thus setting him up for more propaganda (the state will protect him from a world of dangers). Outright falsehoods, however, play a very small part in all this.

It follows that the effectiveness of modern propaganda presupposes a certain degree of education—hence a certain standard of living—among its victims. Obviously it presupposes literacy; but more important, it presupposes precisely the "informed citizens" who are commonly regarded as the best resource of self-governing societies. Indifference, next to intelligence, is the propagandist's worst enemy; he needs people to be actively involved in following the course of affairs. Otherwise propaganda has nothing to work on. The poor, whose struggle for existence absorbs "all their capacities and efforts," cannot be very successfully integrated into the nation, but those who follow events—without, however, being able to understand them—become prey to the anxieties and guilts which it is the work of propaganda to palliate (even while reinforcing). "People . . . think that reading is a road to freedom. . . . Actually, the most obvious result of primary education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was to make the individual susceptible to superpropaganda."

The purpose of propaganda, finally, is not so much to supplement policies abroad, by undermining the enemy's morale, as to integrate the nation from within, by reminding the masses of the need to resist the enemy's incessant efforts to overthrow it.

It may seem to the reader that none of this is particulaly new. Ellul's ideas about the mass society, the loneliness of the mass man, and so forth, are familiar; nor does it come as a great surprise to be told that modern governments seek to give citizens the illusion without the reality of participation. The only novelty, one is tempted to say, lies in calling these efforts propaganda; and it may be argued that in thus enlarging the definition of propaganda to refer not merely to deliberate efforts to deceive but to "a sociological phenomenon" of mass societies, Ellul confuses things rather than clarifies them. It is certainly true, for instance, that the reader of newspapers is victimized by the way news—given the definition of news as disaster—is reported; but what is gained by calling this condition "propaganda," when all our associations with the word predispose us to think of propaganda as describing not an ethically neutral "sociological phe-

GRACE TO BE SAID AT THE SUPERMARKET

That God of ours, the Great Geometer,
Does something for us here, where He hath put
(if you want to put it that way) things in shape,
Compressing the little lambs in orderly cubes,
Making the roast a decent cylinder,
Fairing the tin ellipsoid of a ham,
Getting the luncheon meat anonymous
In squares and oblongs with the edges beveled
Or rounded (streamlined, maybe, for greater speed).

Praise Him, He hath conferred aesthetic distance
Upon our appetites, and on the bloody
Mess of our birthright, our unseemly need,
Imposed significant form. Through Him the brutes
Enter the pure Euclidean kingdom of number,
Free of their bulging and blood-swollen lives
They come to us holy, in Cellophane
Transparencies, in the mystical body,

That we may look unflinchingly on death
As the greatest good, like a philosopher should.

HOWARD NEMEROV

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nomenon" but the activities of people who deliberately seek to manipulate opinion for their own interests? If a writer intends to use a term in a sense radically different from its accepted meaning, he has to show that there is some decisive analytical advantage to be gained from doing so; and it is not yet clear, in this case, what the advantage is.

Whether or not the term "propaganda" helps to describe what Ellul wants to describe, and no matter how familiar some of his general ideas may appear, the reality they describe is still very imperfectly understood; and it is important, therefore, that this book should have been written and translated. Consider, as an example of the general confusion surrounding these subjects, the controversy about "managed news." Douglass Cater (*The Reporter*, March 19, 1959) describes a revealing conversation that took place between James Reston and Dean Acheson shortly before Acheson left office as Secretary of State. Reston regretted that Acheson had not maintained better relations with the press. He complained, as he has complained on so many other occasions, of the secrecy which shrouded the operations of the State Department. Acheson replied that diplomacy was incompatible with publicity. "Reston," according to Cater, "argues that Secretary Acheson failed to understand and make use of the creative power of the press to muster public support for sound policy and, alternatively, to gauge the full extent of public reaction to unsound or unrealistic policy."

In the context of the debate about official secrecy and "censorship," Reston emerges from this colloquy as the champion of the "people's right to know" and Acheson as a man who is actively thwarting it. But from the perspective offered by Ellul's analysis of propaganda, the antagonists appear in a very different light: the liberal, enlightened, "progressive" position appears the more sinister of the two. Reston, whatever his purpose, was urging Acheson, in effect, to exploit the propagandistic possibilities of "information" — "the creative power of the press" in mobilizing opinion. The press, once conceived as a check on arbitrary power, thus becomes one of its instruments, even though Reston's argument is still couched in the imagery of democracy: he imagines that the public has the option of accepting sound policies and rejecting unsound ones. But the choice is illusory, once the "creative power" of the press is used in this fashion; the very choices on which the public is invited to register an opinion will be defined with relation to an overall view of the world which is propagandistic in Ellul's sense—that is, a view of the world as filled with enemies and (as our experts keep reminding us) forbiddingly complex. The public will be invited to choose, say, between "containment" and "victory," while the image of the enemy and the definition of the national emergency confronting us—"Communist aggression"—remain unchanged.

Much of the clamor for a "free press" thus reveals itself as an unwitting demand for more propaganda. The controversy about government secrecy shows once again how the traditional safeguards of civil liberties have broken down in the face of centralized power which presents itself not as power at all but as benevolence—in this case, a government which (with many lapses, it must be admitted) conscientiously keeps its citizens "informed." We still think of the danger to freedom of thought as consisting of "censorship" and "propaganda." It is important to realize that a greater danger, whether or not we wish to discuss it under the heading of propaganda, lies in the very profusion of information which leaves the reader with a total impression of a world "that is astonishingly incoherent, absurd, and irrational," and which lends itself so easily to the promotion, both by government and by unofficial manipulators of mass media, of "sound policy." The withering away of the critical intelligence as a political force, under these conditions, is the subject of Ellul's book—a book that ought not to be ignored.

THE NEW STUDENT LEFT

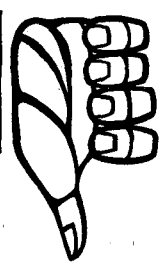
An Anthology

Edited by Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale

The first comprehensive expression on the young campus radicals' rejection of national values and policies. Here is a serious political document by aspirants for leadership . . . pulling no punches . . . issuing a blunt challenge to politicians, parents and fellow students. "A cutting and yet constructive analysis of what is wrong with American Society." — Howard Zinn, author of *SNCC: The New Abolitionists.* **$4.95**

BEACON PRESS

25 Beacon St., Boston 02108



BP-45

To and From Babel

NEW WAYS TO LEARN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE. *By Robert A. Hall, Jr. Bantam Books. 180 pp. 95c paper.*

THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES: Grammars/Dictionaries. *Sales catalogue of Stechert-Hafner. 13th Edition.*

STEPHEN ZOLL

Articles by Mr. Zoll have appeared in Dissent, The Village Voice *and* The Nation.

With the exception of possible professional linguist acquaintances one might know, most Americans' experience with a second language is closer to an old *New Yorker* cartoon showing a tourist husband and wife boarding a passenger liner, one saying to the other, "Pas un seul mot en Anglais from now on, O. K.?" This polyglot nation is, by the second generation, almost implacably unilingual. There has been no one else to speak to. Once, fifth in line at the registration desk of a Swedish hotel, I listened in amazement to the clerk take care of the four ahead of me each in a different language and then make my reservation in perfect English. The German Mozart isn't even sung in Italian at the Met.

Remaining as a relic of a past age of scholarship are Jowitt's translations of Plato, Greek on the left-hand page, English on the right. About twenty-five years ago, this style of presentation was revived for the publication of classic foreign poets. . . . *Du musst dein Leben ändern* is the last line of a poem by Rilke: the sound of the left-hand page and the message of the right, "You must change your life," may have had some responsibility for the Berlitz ad of a little girl from Togo under whose picture the copy reads, "If she can speak Ewe, why can't you?"

The number of "dialogues" that have been urged suggests a poignant desperation of strangers to speak to one another. In fact, a few years ago, there was great excitement at the prospect that a conversation might be engaged with dolphins; and, at this moment, huge radio telescopes trained on the stars are searching for a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new word which, expressed in mathematical code, will tell us that there is someone else to talk to.

According to Professor Hall, it is just this sense of the outlandish that defeats us in attempting to learn a new language. The process of learning our mother tongue has ingrained the habits of pronunciation, emphasis and word order, which, of course, are substantially different, and illogically so, in other languages.

If the little girl from Togo appeals to our sense of the outlandish, this sense is stunned speechless by Stechert-Hafner's catalogue in which are listed thousands of exotic grammars and dictionaries. This is precisely Hall's point.

The first impression of *The World's Languages* is that the catalogue is a profile of selfless bookselling that is specialized to the point of suicide. There can't be a very large market, one would think, for a Bambara-Français, Français-Bambara dictionary, or for four Pali grammars, one in Danish, one in English and two in German. Bambara is a dialect of Mandinga spoken by nomads in the Sahara, and Pali a dialect of Sanskrit spoken by Buddha. The catalogue is fascinating as a record of how many languages are spoken—or once were spoken—and of who speaks to whom.

Ewe and Urdu are only casually outlandish; *The World's Languages* is not a casual catalogue. Urdu is a version of Hindi; Ewe alphabetically follows Etruscan, for which there are three grammars, all German. No Etruscan was ever addressed by a German, nor was an Aztec, although entry No. 39 is *Aztekische Schriftsprache; Grammatik, Text und Glossar.* Annamese is a tongue of Vietnam, for which there are two grammars, both French, and five dictionaries: two French, two English and one German. The catalogue is and is not a geography of colonialism. Pascuense, for instance, is the language of Easter Island, and for $30 for a grammar and dictionary combined in one volume, it isn't clear who would be exploiting whom. Pashto is the language of the Kandahar of Afghanistan, and its grammar, in English, is a bargain, unexploitive, at $2. There are six grammars and two dictionaries of Akkadian, befitting its importance as the root language of Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Aramaic, Hebrew, etc. Balti is spoken in Tibet; Bugotu in the Solomon Islands; Buriat, Uralic and Altaic are Mongol dialects of central Siberia; Ge'ez and Amharic are versions of Ethiopic (grammars are available in German, French and English); an Adamawa grammar and a Fulani dictionary (Adamawa is a dialect of Fulani) can be obtained for the English-speaking visitor to Upper Volta. Etc.

The ultimate of linguistics, a goal linguists despair of achieving, is to solve all known languages to find the original instance of speech. *The World's Languages* is a record of the accumulated case books; a series of quadratic equations from which to eliminate variations to find the oldest common constant, a deductive jump from the full, complicated idiom of the most primitive language to the onomatopoeia of the emotions. The search has led beyond grammar and vocabulary to the methods of one sound voiced after another and to the production of sound itself; it is an earlier logic difficult to examine with the reason of words. The purpose of the search is, since language precipitated from the nature of man's mind and changed it irrevocably, to find what can be recovered of the essentials of that original nature. In a sense, it is the repair of Babel.

Professor Hall confirms Babel—what help is there for it?—there *are* all these languages. His approach is "based on the nature of the language itself and its function in the life of the individual and society." Whatever this means, one cannot, unfortunately, start anywhere in the Stechert-Hafner catalogue and easily become fluent in half a dozen languages this year. Probably, the book is intended for teachers of a language rather than its students for whom, finally, remains the hard work of drill and memorization. The linguistic approach, as Hall calls it—as opposed to the grammatical approach—is to learn a language pretty much as a mother tongue is learned by a child, given the limitations that the student is an adult, has a compromised time schedule, already knows a first language which constitutes an ingrained set of bad habits antithetical to the new language, and hates to be corrected. It is a linguistic approach in that it concentrates, as much as it can and still arrive at intelligible communication, on the production of the new phonemes and morphemes. Beyond imitation of sound, the idea is to by-pass the ingrained habits of the mother language by repeating new patterns until they become habitual, allowing mistakes and accepting correction, finding the systematics (isn't this grammar?) and reapplying them homologously, and using the language within its own cultural framework by drilling on specimen sentences that incorporate what is going on in the "target language's" home country. Perhaps chief among the book's virtues is that it is encouraging to a potential student, whatever help it might be to an actual student.

The thought that to learn a new language would mean that one would change one's life is undoubtedly correct: new concepts would presumably be possible with a new style of conceptualizing. How different these new concepts might be, how

where else could you find

The Other Germany:1943
—Bertolt Brecht
never before published

Securing Revolutions—Che Guevara
never before published

Green Beret Against the War
—Don Duncan

'Legal Murder'—
The Rosenberg-Sobell Case

District 65: An Analysis
—Walter Linder

New York Transit Strike
—Frank Scott

PLP Community Work:
East and West

. . . and much more

packed into one magazine?

PL

newest and most exciting periodical on the American left reflecting work among students, trade unionists, community workers, intellectuals . . .

Subscribe now for $2.50 yearly for the new bi-monthly

SPECIAL OFFER — $6.

All new readers subscribing to PL and the PLP New York bi-weekly newspaper CHALLENGE (reg. sub. $4 yearly) will receive one of the following books (value $1-$6) **FREE** with each combination subscription:

SECOND REVOLUTION IN CUBA
—J. P. Morray

GUERRILLA WARFARE—Che Guevara

U.S., CUBA & CASTRO—W. A. Williams

SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS
—Mao Tse-tung

TORTURE OF MOTHERS
—Truman Nelson

ONE BATTLE MORE —Hal Driggs

PROGRESSIVE LABOR
GPO Box 808, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

I enclose $..... for ..... sub(s) for PL and CHALLENGE (or special combination offer).

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip No. .....

Gift book(s) .....

Make check payable to Progressive Labor
N

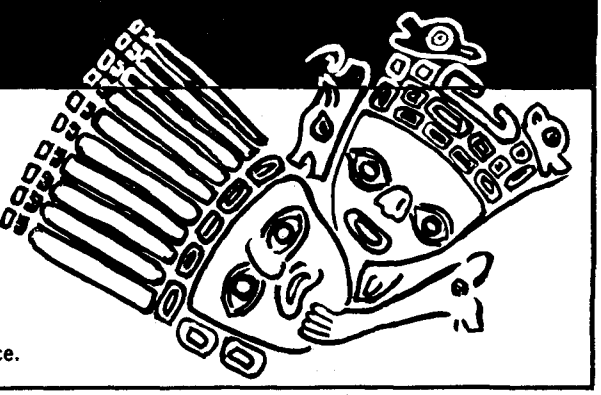
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sale

UNITED PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

OFFERS BOOKS ON ALL SUBJECTS

SAVE FROM 20% UP TO 80%



Many of the books listed here are not available anywhere else at any price.

475. JUSTINE: Or the Misfortunes of Virtue, Marquis de Sade. The most famous and notorious work of de Sade, the strangest figure in literature history, conceived during his imprisonment in 1778 — a tale in which vice and evil reign supreme and reflect the bizarre philosophy and twisted sexuality of its author.
Published at $5.00 **Sale $1.00**

471. SHORT DICTIONARY OF MYTHOLOGY, P. G. Woodcock. Over 12,000 entries plus cross references — every name of importance in classical history and Norse, Greek, Roman, Hindu, Egyptian, and Near-Eastern mythology — an invaluable aid to the student and general reader.
Published at $3.75 **Sale $1.00**

465. SEX EDUCATION LIBRARY. Written by nine medical doctors, here are the most vital sex problems of every stage of life. Material on Marriage Techniques; Heightening Sex Satisfaction; Problems of Aging; Sex Physique Averages, and more. 34 anatomical illustrations. Softbound. **Sale $1.50**

GUARANTEE: If you are not satisfied for any reason at all you may return your purchase within two weeks and your payment will be refunded.

460. MATHEMATICAL PUZZLES — AND OTHER BRAIN TWISTERS, Anthony S. Filipiak. 100 puzzles that will challenge your ingenuity and skill in a productive and amusing manner — 100 "brain-twisters" from shifting blocks to geometric designs, plus instructions on how to make and solve them. Diagrams.
Published at $3.95 **Sale $1.98**

466. APHRODISIACS: From Legend to Prescription, Alan Hull Walton. The strange, fascinating story of the use and misuse of aphrodisiacs down through the centuries. Here is a history of love potions from ancient times to the present day, a Cookery of Love, describing the effects upon sexual vigor of various foods, beverages and extracts; a discussion of pharmaceutical preparations affecting virility, including testosterone; and a bibliography for advanced readers, students and the newly married.
Published at $7.95 **Sale $2.98**

450. HOW I PHOTOGRAPH NUDES, Bunny Yeager. A book that is truly revealing, both visually and because of the author's ability to convey the techniques and original ideas of her art. Scores of superb photos of the female, many in full color, and hints on shooting silhouettes, working outdoors, lighting effects, props, costumes, etc. **Sale $10.00**

409. Helen Gurley Brown: SEX AND THE OFFICE, by the author of Sex And The Single Girl. In this book — How to love a boss; How to defang office enemies; How to carry on the Office Affair; How to STALK (date, marry, or "whatever") — the most complete outrageous and practical handbook ever written for girls who work.
Published at $4.95 **Sale $1.00**

485. The T. E. Lawrence of China: KIND-HEARTED TIGER, Gilbert Stuart, with Alan Levy. Brawny memoirs by a swashbuckling adventurer who became China's legendary WW II soldier and patriot, "Tz'u-hsin Hu," the Kind-Hearted Tiger, a guerrilla terror to the Japanese invaders, and later a mortal threat to the Manchurian Communists.
Published at $5.95 **Sale $2.98**

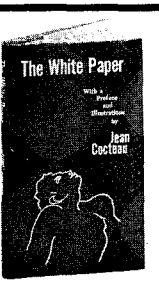
493. DICTIONARY OF THE OCCULT, Harry E. Wedeck. Concise compendium of witchcraft and various occult practices from early Babylonian times to the present, with special emphasis on the effects of thaumaturgy and its palpable impact on social and political conditions through the ages.
Published at $3.00 **Sale $1.00**

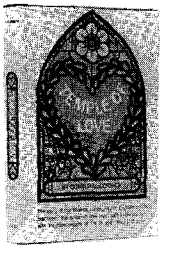
479. NOTHING LIKE THE SUN, Anthony Burgess. By the author of **A Clockwork Orange** and **The Wanting Seed.** First-rank novel of Shakespeare's love life, tightly pegged to historical fact — yet fully revealing of Shakespeare's genius and tragic vision as he is haunted from youth to death by his dark lady.
Published at $3.95 **Sale $1.00**

436. Henri Pirenne: A HISTORY OF EUROPE — From the Invasions to the XVI Century. Perhaps one of the most important historical works of this century, Pirenne examines the fall of Rome in terms of the expansion of Islam, with the subsequent inception of feudalism, and the formation of the capitalist class out of the feudal burghers, with the most important analysis of this subject since Marx. 640 pages.
Published at $10.00 **Sale $5.98**

427. WOMAN IN EUROPEAN ART. The female form as seen and portrayed by the greatest European artists from earliest recorded time to the present. Beautifully printed in full color and black and white, this volume includes every interpretation possible, the esoteric as well as the familiar.
Published at $10.00 **Sale $2.98**

440. MR. SEIDMAN AND THE GEISHA, Elick Moll, author of Seidman and Son. What happens when Morris Seidman, happy and middleaged N. Y. garment manufacturer, is offered the "hospitality" of a beautiful, charming geisha, O-yuki? — a touching, sensitive comedy that will warm your heart.
Published at $3.75 **Sale $1.00**





470. THE WHITE PAPER, Anonymous. A brilliantly written anonymous short novel that delineates in striking detail the strange passions of a young Frenchman whose love affairs went beyond normal bounds. With a preface and illustrations by Jean Cocteau.
Published at $3.50 **Sale $1.00**

407. English Scandal: TEMPLE OF LOVE, Donald McCormick. The bizarre, utterly fascinating story of an English turn-of-the-century free love cult, founded by a former Anglican curate, John Hugh Smyth-Pigott — a thoroughly up-and-up, sophisticated, slightly eccentric, gospel sect, accepted by all the neighbors, **until Smyth-Pigott's elected "soul brides" started to give birth to his children.**
Published at $4.50 **Sale $1.98**

462. The Drug World. LIGHT THROUGH DARKNESS, Henri Michaux. An extraordinarily beautiful, sometimes shocking, journey through the labyrinthine world of the narcotics-user, including a mescaline-inspired poem, by one of France's most distinguished painters and writers.
Published at $5.00 **Sale $1.98**

THE FEMALE FORM

Each portfolio contains eight silk screen prints beautifully reproduced on fine quality paper. Perfect examples of exotic female beauty, these reproductions, 12¼" x 16¾" in size, are excellent for framing. Originally published at $6.00 each.
Special $1.98 Each

424. EIGHT NUDES BY MAILLOL. Exciting, esoteric realism created by the strange hand of this great French artist.

425. THE FEMALE FORM BY MATISSE. These eight beautiful prints, the ultimate in female beauty, express Matisse's sensitivity to the human form.

426. DEGAS: NUDES. 8 vibrantly alive nude studies reproduced in fine silkscreen from the originals by the superb craftsman.

442. SEX WITHOUT GUILT, Albert Ellis, Ph.D. The nature of our sex code is such that countless men and women must fight a lonely battle against guilt for doing those sexual things which are neither harmful to themselves nor to others. This **completely revised 1966 edition** will help you understand sex guilt and throw off its shackles. **Sale $4.95**

456. The Nature of Radiation: THE RADIANT UNIVERSE, George W. Hill. Large volume covering the origin and nature of the universe. Every aspect clearly discussed. Illustrations, charts, and index.
Published at $4.75 **Sale $1.00**

422. THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN'S GUIDE TO MAN-HUNTING, Dr. Albert Ellis. The most honest approach ever published on finding men, pleasing men, and finding pleasure in man-woman relationships. **For women with adult minds only.** **Sale $4.95**

484. PICTORIAL ARSENAL OF AMERICA'S COMBAT WEAPONS, Will Eisner; Intro. by Maj. Gen. John Medaris. Only complete collection available which shows and describes the almost 100 weapon-types in the U.S. Arsenal — **over 200 dramatic action photos** — everything from small arms to missiles — from the tactical A-warhead firing "Davy Crocket" to the deadly self-homing acoustic torpedo and the big missiles, with their firepower and use.
Published at $4.95 **Sale $1.98**

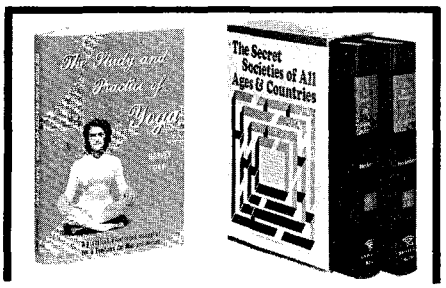
497. WOMAN IN THE SEXUAL RELATION, H. H. Ploss, et al. Through all recorded time, from every continent on earth — a complete uncensored ethnographic survey of every known historic, psychological and anthropological occurrence in the sex life of woman, no matter how bizarre, wild or erotic. **Sale $10.00**

434. ABRAHAM LINCOLN RETURNS, Harriet M. Shelton. "Judge for yourself. You will be surprised and encouraged by what you learn about how and why ABRAHAM LINCOLN RETURNS." — G. O. Tubby, American Society for Psychic Research.
Published at $3.95 **Sale $1.98**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

490. GOING TO THE RIVER, Constantine Fitz Gibbon. By the author of **When The Kissing Had To Stop.** Enthralling novel unfolding the inside drama of the West's political history from 1914 to 1940 — the vanishing of 19th century culture, the struggle for a new world, and the catastrophe of 1939-40 — "lucid, assured, and incisive," Manchester **Guardian.**
Published at $4.95 **Sale $1.00**

408. Walter Kerr: THE DECLINE OF PLEASURE. Trenchant, telling analysis of contemporary unhappiness — presenting the paradox of the exhausting vacation, suggesting why the modern woman is more enervated than her unmechanized grandmother — an invitation to once more enjoy the **pleasures** of life and art, written in a way that makes these pleasures palpable.
Published at $5.00 **Sale $1.00**



433. THE STUDY AND PRACTICE OF YOGA, Harvey Day. A practical manual of Yoga postures and exercises which are within the capabilities of any individual. It shows how this ancient science helps to induce clear thinking, control weight and aid in preserving a youthful appearance and physique. Illustrated.
Published at $3.75 **Sale $1.98**

406. Two Volume Set: SECRET SOCIETIES OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES, Charles W. Heckethorn. Intriguing study of hundreds of secret societies, and of the esoteric knowledge which formed the basis of their existence — covers religious, political and anti-social groups from the ancient mysteries of the Mithraics, Druids, and Isus cults, through the Gnostics and Cabbalists, to the 19th and 20th century freemasonry and Rosicrucianism, as well as the Carbonari, Nihilists and Thugs. 702 pp.; 2 vols. boxed.
Published at $15.00 **Sale $7.98**

421. CHINESE ART, Finlay MacKenzie. Illustrated with 48 magnificent color plates, pictures in the text, and a map, this handsome volume features a long introduction, essays on bronzes, pottery, porcelain, painting, and calligraphy; also a chronological table and notes on the plates. **Special Import $2.98**

418. MAN & SEX — A Practical Manual of Sexual Knowledge, J. J. Kaufman, M.D. and G. Borgeson. The first solid medical manual **written specifically** for men in non-technical language — deals with every aspect of male sexuality: physical act and pleasure, impotence, contraception, vasectomy, aging, hormones, disorders and more.
Published at $3.95 **Sale $1.98**

423. George Grosz: ECCE HOMO. Limited edition faithfully reproducing the original 1923 suppressed edition with all Grosz' original illustrations — 16 watercolors, 84 drawings — evoking the nightmare horrors of 1918-1922 Berlin, all the aberrations of a rawpoint, lawless, amoral and immoral sexual barbarism; the brothels, night clubs, alcohol, debauchery, mass copulation, bastardy, and homosexuality in devastating, precise sword-sharp brush strokes. 10½" x 14½". **Sale $35.00**

495. ESSAYS IN PHYSICS, Albert Einstein. The most relevant of Einstein's writings on physics and mechanics, all clearly set forth and fully illustrating his ability to reduce the complex to its bare essentials.
Published at $3.00 **Sale $1.00**

413. THE DRAWINGS OF LEONARDO AND MICHELANGELO. Particularly fine collection of **66 master drawings** by the two towering geniuses of the Renaissance — includes Leonardo's "Self-Portrait," "Storm Over the Alps" and "Head of an Old Man," Michelangelo's "Study for the Libyan Sibyl," "Tityus" and many of his nude studies — beautifully reproduced on heavy vellum stock, with introduction and notes by J. Pecirka. 9" x 12".
Special Import $9.98

USE THIS CONVENIENT FORM TO ORDER BY MAIL

Please send me the items whose numbers I have entered below

ALTERNATE SELECTIONS

UNITED PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
1615 HILLSIDE AVENUE
NEW HYDE PARK, NEW YORK 11040

PLEASE PRINT THIS SECTION CLEARLY

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

Check or Money Order enclosed. Sorry, no COD's.
Minimum purchase at these prices, $5.00.
(We pay postage and handling.) TN-1

455. MODERN CHEMISTRY, J. F. Baxter and L. E. Steiner. The modern text — prepared especially for the N. B. C. Continental Classroom course in chemistry — Volume One, from Atoms and Atom Theory to Large Molecules and Organic Polymers. Softbound.
Published at $2.50 **Sale $1.00**

472. THE LIGHT WITHIN US, Albert Schweitzer. The most important statements of faith selected from his seven major works, that amplify Dr. Schweitzer's cardinal principle of belief — Reverence for Life.
Published at $2.75 **Sale $1.00**

452. REFLECTIONS OF A PHYSICIST, P. W. Bridgman. This is the enlarged edition. Contains the bulk of non-technical writing of Dr. Bridgman including some material published for the first time.
Published at $6.00 **Sale $1.00**

444. SEX AND THE SINGLE MAN, Dr. Albert Ellis. A frank and forthright guide to sexual matters for the single man . . . including specifics on where to find girls, how to find 'em, and what to do with them when you have them. Vital! **Sale $4.95**

451. SOVIET SPACE TECHNOLOGY, Alfred J. Zaehringer, Fwd. by Werner Von Braun, U. S. Missile Expert. An expert's revealing review of Russian space achievements from before their Revolution through the recent rocket and missile developments of the "Sputniks" and "Luniks" and their effect upon America's space program. Includes many photos, schematic drawings, tables, glossary, etc.
Published at $3.95 **Sale $1.00**

477. SANAMU: Adventures in Search of African Art. By Robert Dick-Read. Enthralling, vivid account of several years of art expeditions into remote parts of more than 20 African countries — 76 drawings, 32 photos — from cajoling a rare carved bedstead out of an eccentric Cameroons chieftan to the ancient Christian cave churches of Ethiopia.
Published at $5.95 **Sale $2.98**

486. OCEAN FRONT, Douglass Wallop. Author of **The Year the Yankees Lost the Pennant,** the basis for **Damn Yankees.** Agonizing novel of the aftermath of senseless violence — Linda Braxton, who was raped and pistol-whipped, and her husband Paul, who has to bear the yoke of cowardice.
Published at $5.95 **Sale $1.00**

417. PAUL CEZANNE, John Rewald. The great painter's life, from his early experimental years in Paris, culminating with his wonderful fruitful period in the late 1870's. Recounted mostly from his own personal letters and by those who knew him best. Over 90 illustrations, some in color. **Special Import $2.98**

Some are in limited supply, so please indicate alternate selections when ordering.

454. THE HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS, Joseph E. Hofmann. A practical, stimulating history of mathematic formulae from the number systems and methods of the ancients, through the Middle Ages, to the formulation of modern concepts. Indexed.
Published at $4.75 **Sale $1.00**

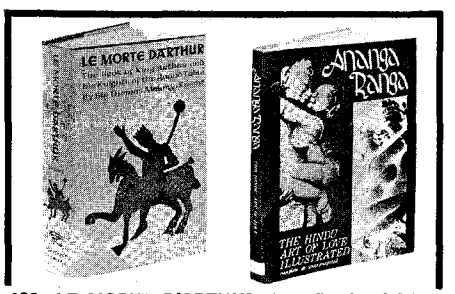
415. THE MOONS OF PARADISE: Reflections on the Breast in Art, Mervyn Levy. An eminent art critic interprets stylistic and formal difference in the representation of the breasts in art through the ages — moving from the "little apples" of classic Greece and the fulsomeness of Hindu erotic sculpture to contemporary works of Picasso and Chagall. 103 special photos.
Published at $5.95 **Sale $2.98**

487. '68 — A Novel of Presidential Politics, Peter Scaevola. Thriller chronicle of the 1968 Presidential race, in a year of recession, Communist cold war gains, increased racial tension, and accelerated right-wing politics — and the question of fair means or foul.
Published at $4.50 **Sale $1.00**

410. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARTH, Fwd. by Sir Vivian Fuchs; intro. by Carroll Lane Fenton. Monumental one-volume encyclopedia of the earth we live on and of its science — geology, paleontology, mineralogy, geophysics, oceanography and more. **600 illustrations, 20 in full color,** 419 pp.; 8¼" x 11¼" softbound, sewn for lasting use. **Special Import $4.98**

458. THE WILL TO POWER: In science — nature — society and art, Nietzsche. Translated by Anthony M. Lodovici. Board cover.
Published at $2.25 **Sale $1.00**

438. EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS, Hjalmar R. Holand. The final and summarizing presentation of all the evidence — historic, linguistic, archaeological, geographical, and literary — that sheds light on Norse explorations in America before Columbus. Illus.
Published at $6.00 **Sale $2.98**



429. LE MORTE D'ARTHUR: The Book of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table, Sir Thomas Malory. A single-volume, 960-page, unexpurgated edition of the 15th century classic rendered into modern English spelling. Complete with the great tales of adultery, Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristan and Isolde, and all the pre-Christian symbols. Exact replica of this historic Medici Societa edition.
Published at $15.00 **Sale $6.98**

467. ANANGA RANGA: The Hindu Art of Love. Drawing on six centuries of "field testing" by scores of impassioned devotees and scholarly investigators of sexual practices, this magnificent three-in-one volume is the definitive handbook of physical love. In addition to 25 superb, full-page illustrations, this famous classic offers the entire gamut of Oriental sex techniques for increasing pleasure in the love act.
Published at $15.00 **Sale $10.00**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meaningful the new dialogue, is to argue for practice. Eisley thought that the value of speaking to porpoises would be in communicating with a nonpossessor of an opposable thumb and the resultant grasping nature, a new logic and set of abstractions. The change the development of language itself has caused in man is most violently theorized by Washburn, a primatologist. In this theory, the ability to use language to conceptualize allowed a vision of time: a memory of the past and an expectation of the future: history, autobiography and politics. Such a complicated vision forced the evolutionary increase of the brain by several hundred cubic centimeters of smoking gray matter. The infant head became so large that birth, as a matter of normal procedure, had to be premature, and for the upbringing of the helpless offspring, the family was invented. It is in the family, of course, that the trouble begins that sends us to the head shrinker—or makes us long for someone else to talk to.

On Media Trouble

FCC: ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1964 SUMMARIZING 30 YEARS OF ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENTS AND CURRENT HAPPENINGS IN THAT FIELD.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BROADCASTING. *(The Fowler Commission). Canada Queens Printer (Ottawa). $5.*

DESMOND SMITH

Mr. Smith is a writer on economics and business who contributes frequently to The Nation.

Like all journalists I have a congenital affection for reports, especially government ones. The diminishing role that hard facts as against wishful fantasy play in public relations handouts is a subject of popular debate; but government reports, however abominably written, continue to inform rather than persuade.

Each of the present reports is concerned with the condition of broadcasting. From each emerges a fairly clear picture of the troubled state of television in the mid-sixties: for the Fowler Commission "the programing of private television stations is heavily dominated by light entertainment, derived mainly from foreign sources and particularly the United States." So much for the private stations. It also has harsh words for the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for "failing to discharge adequately its duties to foster understanding between the two main cultural groups in this country." Moreover, complains the report, "(the C.B.C.) does not produce programs that would assist English-speaking Canadians to understand the attitudes and aspirations of French Canada . . . concerning the 'French Fact.'" In the case of the Federal Communications Commission, the proximity of a broadcaster-dominated Congress (it is conservatively estimated that one-third of Congress owns TV or radio interests) tends to inhibit investigation of programing abuses.

A large proportion of the FCC's work therefore is in the domain of straight legal wrongdoing. A natural impulse takes one directly to "Compliance" to see how the public-spirited broadcasters are doing. Badly, I should say. Although FCC investigators managed only to get into twenty-eight states, they discovered payola, rigged contests, double billing of advertising (a common cheat in which a local advertiser is given two bills, one for the actual advertising charge, the other for a larger sum which the advertiser palms off on the national advertiser who unwittingly pays the bill as part of his cooperative advertising agreement), horse-race broadcasts believed to have been made for the purpose of assisting illegal gambling, obscenity, improper use of ratings, improper sponsor identification and "plugola" (hidden advertising). A high proportion of these violations is never reported in the local newspaper (which may own the TV or radio station).

Listing of such abuses in the FCC report provides an opportunity to survey, however superficially, just how much American broadcasting has improved since Mr. Minow asked the broadcasters to survey their very own "vast wasteland." For the Fowler Commission a broadcasting system should not only reflect a nation's culture but should help create it. "Its guiding rule cannot be to give the people what they want, for at best this can be only what the broadcasters think the people want; they may not know, and the people themselves may not know." This is true. What is perhaps less true is that information and cultural programs should replace the entertainment programs that presently monopolize peak viewing hours. To force-feed culture over the kinds of television networks that presently exist in Canada and the United States would be both stupid and unfair.

The Fowler Commission is wise enough to recognize this. "The general level of cultural life in Canada will not be raised . . . by culturally rich programs that do not win an audience. There is no value or purpose in producing the best programs in the world unless they are seen or heard by a sizable audience." It is all the more pity, therefore, that the authors of the report should write: "The future of Canadian television does not greatly depend on how the signals are produced and transmitted." This kind of naïveté about the medium damages the report's own persuasive case against the souped-up American border TV stations that aim American programing with Canadian advertising at large Canadian markets. Moreover, by discounting technology it weakens the argument for a feasible bilingual national service. In spite of the fact that Americans now own 60 million TV sets and Canadians some 4½ million, I would argue there is a serious scarcity of television. A glance at the television map of the U.S. and Canada shows that nearly half of the U.S. and almost all of Canada is served by single TV stations. Thus with three networks (A.B.C., C.B.S., N.B.C.) in the U.S. and three networks (C.B.C. French Language, C.B.C. English Language, CTV Commercial) in Canada, there are sizable communities that cannot obtain the full range of programs, simply because one or two stations cannot broadcast three network schedules.

The FCC, by contrast, has creditably paid close attention to TV's galloping technology. With the passage of the FCC-endorsed All-Channel TV Receiver Law (in 1964), new TV sets have now the capacity to receive all channels, 2 through 83. By lighting up the previously unused UHF, the FCC hopes to repeat the successful pattern of program improvement set by FM radio. Given the present fiercely competitive three-network situation, "program balance" is a dead issue. Given UHF TV outlets, television will almost certainly gain a new dimension.

The Fowler Commission's report possesses the great virtue of sticking pretty closely to an examination of Canadian broadcasting as it is. It deplores the fact that in 1963, sixty-one private television stations spent $2,435,000 on "artists and other talent fees," an average of less than $40,000 a year, $770 a week, or $110 a day. "We ask, how many writers, producers, actors and musicians can be hired for $110? What kind of program even at the rate of one a day can be produced for $110?" By comparison, the total C.B.C. payments for Canadian talent in 1963 were over three times those of the private stations combined, although its total income was less. The two areas of improvement that the Canadian report appears to give most stress to are, first, acceptance of the belief that program content is "the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only thing that really matters in broadcasting." This is now widely agreed to be only the tip of the iceberg, and many students of television would prefer to put the emphasis on the medium rather than the message. The report's second stress appears to be a somewhat fundamentalist view of television, which may seem to regard television largely as a means of producing cultured viewers. Finally, the report recommends the consideration by the Canadian Parliament of a regulatory agency to govern Canadian broadcasting that would be operated broadly along the lines of the FCC. Significantly, despite the Fowler Commission's impact in Canada, the government has taken no further action to implement its chief recommendation.

Now, the heart of broadcasting, its most vital arteries, are not the broadcasting companies: they are the millionfold capillaries, known as the general public. The FCC, above and beyond everything else, is the public's middleman. According to law, it is neither part of the executive branch of government, nor is it (as is often claimed) an "arm" of Congress. It is an independent agency. "Our independence," said Newton Minow, former FCC chairman, "varies with our backbones." Part of a regulatory agency's backbone—apart from its personnel—is the way it is equipped to do its job. The FCC report provides a vivid example of what is today one of the overriding problems in mass culture. Mass communications have literally exploded in the past thirty years, whereas the regulatory agencies have failed to keep pace.

Consider the FCC, which in 1934 had a staff of 500 and a budget of $2 million. In those years it looked after an infant radio industry, the telephone companies, attended a few international broadcasting conferences, and comfortably managed everything else with its field engineering division. In 1934 less than 10,000 applications for various broadcast licenses arrived in Washington. Today the FCC is engulfed in a tidal wave of paper work. In 1964 it received more than one million license applications. Meanwhile it is responsible for everything from electric-eye garage doors to space-satellite communications. In between it is supposed to regulate the giant AT&T (and all other telephone companies), telegraph, business radio, the surging radio and television industries, citizens-band broadcasting, aviation radio and at least a dozen other new communication areas. The FCC has to do all this with a staff numbering just 1,500 and with a budget of $15 million (a budget that was less than half the amount AT&T spent on television advertising alone in 1964).

The failure to regulate appears to be the chief lesson learned from reading both these reports. The quality, the imagination and the responsibility for what travels over our publicly owned air waves will begin when we put our regulatory houses in order. For, as these reports have demonstrated, broadcasters will do what is expected of them, and where expectations differ broadcaster behavior differs.

THEATRE / Robert Pasolli

OFF-OFF-BROADWAY

Mr. Pasolli spent the 1962-63 season at the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis on a Ford Foundation grant and was later associated with the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center in New York.

An extraordinary event, characteristically without fanfare, occurred off-off-Broadway in March, when a company of five players under Tom O'Horgan's direction performed a repertory of six plays at the Cafe La Mama. The plays were all revivals of off-off-Broadway classics; taken together they constitute a performed anthology of the better work being presented in a milieu that bids fair to become the future past of the American theatre.

Lanford Wilson is one of off-off-Broadway's playwrights whose talents have had the endorsement of commercial production. At La Mama he was represented by *This Is the Rill Speaking*, a re-creation of daily life in a small Ozark town which purports to be kaleidoscopic and microcosmic of rural-rooted America. The five players enact several roles apiece, related in family and acquaintance. Their scenes enfold one into the other, sometimes with transition, sometimes without. Running through the play as a backbone are several episodes involving young Willy Atkins (buoyantly played by Michael Warren Powell), too young yet to be recognized even as a prospective poet, but surely the autobiographical stand-in for Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Wilson has an indefeasibly loving attitude toward his material. The Atkins family at supper, Willy and a friend playing sex games, old crones gossiping on the front porch, a bunch of kids discovering booze and good times, Willy overacting in a pool hall—Mr. Wilson evokes his venue with a tenderness that makes literalness the

The Next Gandhi?

FIRE UNDER THE ASHES

The Life of Danilo Dolci

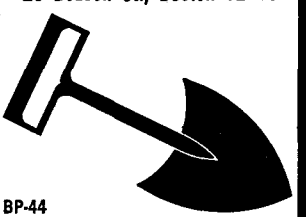
by James McNeish

Illustrated with photographs

The first full-length account of the colorful reformer who has incurred the wrath of church, state, and Mafia . . . and gained international recognition . . . by leading desperate Sicilians in constructive revolt against socioeconomic stagnation. ". . . a truly magnificent job." — Gavin Maxwell. **$5.95**

BEACON PRESS

25 Beacon St., Boston 02108



BP-44

THE ROAD TO SPAIN

By IRA MORRIS

author of *The Chicago Story* and *The Paper Wall*

A man's evolution and a people's revolution in one of those South American countries where "the CIA always gives Cadillacs to the wrong men" and five percent of the population controls ninety-five percent of the wealth.

"I read it, entranced," says Carleton Beals, author of twenty-four authoritative works on Latin-America. "An attractive, delightful and profound novel."

Mail to your favorite bookstore, or to:

MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS N
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 10014

I enclose $4.95 for a copy of **The Road to Spain** by Ira Morris.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip Code .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outer limit of his accomplishment. His approach, in short, is sentimental rather than inspirational.

Both the form and the material of *This Is the Rill Speaking* remind one of *Under Milk Wood,* to the extent even of suggesting that the Thomas play served as Mr. Wilson's inspiration. The difference between the two plays, however, is fundamental and inheres in the distinction between poetry and prose. Where *Milk Wood* creates new life (the interior lives of its characters), the essential function of poetry, *Rill* disperses from the storehouse of memory (the exterior lives of its characters), the essential function of prose. *Milk Wood's* life in poetry lifts it right out of its particular milieu; *Rill,* on the other hand, sits gossiping with those crones on the front porch.

This is not to compare an elephant to a gnat. Mr. Wilson's play is eloquent and frequently moving. But its literalness prevents it from entering one's imagination and evoking that cry of recognition which has to do with love, I think, and is in any case the ultimate pleasure of the theatre.

A much more eccentric play is William Hoffman's *Thank You, Miss Victoria.* The central character, a young man, is spending his first day on a new job he has been forced to take in his father's firm. He is in a panic about being thrust into responsibility, the more so for his confusion at just what his responsibility is. An ad in a girlie magazine for a male secretary, with implications in the sexual services department, attracts his attention. It is signed "Miss Victoria," and he phones her.

Partly in response to her brusque demands, partly in willfully precipitous self-denial, the young man proffers an abject spiritual and physical slavishness to his prospective employer. By the end of the long conversation, of which we hear only his share, Miss Victoria has assumed the character of the numinous and the young man that of a groveling dog. Persistent intrusions by his office secretary and by friends who telephone in, representing the reality he endeavors to escape, come to a climax with the arrival of the young man's father for a conference, which concludes the episode. Thus the eccentricity of the action is heightened by its framework of conventional reality, while the imprecise identity of Miss Victoria and the wanton character of the servile frenzy she elicits from the young man make Mr. Hoffman's play a pointed vignette of horror.

In performance Michael Warren Powell gave the young man a languorous quality that caused him to lose me early in the action. The fact that he is required to play his scene to a telephone receiver would seem to me to counsel a more intense characterization. Furthermore, Mr. Powell played it altogether too fruitily for the given material, a factor which further alienated me from the play. Mr. Powell has shown himself in this repertory too intelligent and accomplished an actor for this to have been unintentional, but I am at a loss to understand its significance.

Leonard Melfi's *Birdbath* is such a luminously beautiful play and Mari-Claire Charba's performance of the principal role was so limpidly compelling that I don't know whether to blame text or presentation for the jarringly wrong conclusion to a sequence of events that was otherwise masterful.

Velma Sparrow is a bar waitress, dopey, pathologically shy and impetuous. Frankie is the new cashier, cool, educated and lonely. In the course of their long encounter on his first night at the job, we learn about Velma that she lives with and supports her selfish, lazy mother in the Bronx, that she had a handsome and adored brother who died, and that she has never been within touching distance of a man. About Frankie we learn that he is a poet, that his frequent involvements come to nothing, and that he is accustomed to having what he wants. Velma finds Frankie wildly attractive and it develops that Frankie would like to make love to her, partly out of loneliness, partly out of sympathy for a poor, pathetic, terrified bird. Closing the bar, walking together to her subway, passing his apartment, going inside and relaxing there, Velma is one long outpouring of trivial comment and pitiful self-revelation—all to cover her nervous agitation, rising to fever pitch as she gets further involved with Frankie, who tries to relax her with drink, soft music and sweet talk.

When Frankie, now tipsy, persists in his advances to the point of almost physically overpowering her, Velma pulls a knife from her handbag to ward him off. The shock of this action jars her into revealing that she has that morning murdered her oppressive mother at breakfast for threatening to go away and leave her. As Velma collapses in an exhausted heap, appealing weakly to Frankie for help and understanding, we realize the unsuspected motive for her peculiar behavior throughout the play—her horror and fear at what she has done.

I was quite unprepared for this surprise, and it totally unhinged my pleasure with the play. The role of Velma, at least as performed by Miss Charba, calls for no such event as explanation for her behavior, which is justified merely as a function of her psychology and of the circumstances of her life as she has revealed them in her dialogue.

I don't know whether Mr. Melfi errs by not creating a need for such information to explain Velma's behavior, or whether Miss Charba failed by not conveying a character who could not be accepted fully until that information was given. The play is so skillful and so well contrived up to that point that I hesitate to complain. On the other hand, Miss Charba's performance was so delicately touching that I would not have had her change anything. She gave Velma a series of simple, telling and sustainable mannerisms—the constant nervous undulation of her body, the high pitch of her feverish chatter, the instinctively judicious use of her handbag—that made her radiant performance moving, both to see and to recollect.

Jean-Claude van Itallie, at about 30, already has a body of work representing him—I know of six plays and have seen five of them in production—and yet he is little known anywhere but off-off-Broadway. That he will be discovered at large goes without saying, for his craft and imagination are impressive, but one wonders when. In the meantime, off-off-Broadway nurtures his talent. In particular, he works closely with the Open Theatre, one of the most provocative off-off-Broadway groups, and I understand that his plays are sometimes derived from workshop sessions there.

War, Mr. van Itallie's play at La Mama may have had such a derivation. A free-wheeling, volatile work, it concerns two actors, one middle-aged, the other young, who meet in order to improvise. The older identifies with the paraphernalia of the theatre—its "stuff and appurtenances"—which overflow his apartment, the locale of the play. The younger identifies with the natural human resources of the theatre, particularly with the ac-

SUMMERLANE CAMP

in the tradition of

The Little Commonwealth
Summerhill

The Gorky Colony

Continuing an exploration of the boundaries of freedom in democracy; seeking to teach that love is something more than need; that work and creativity are inseparable.

•

Now in our 4th summer
Boys and Girls, Ages 5-19

•

BUCKBROOK FARM
North Branch 10, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tor's physical gifts, and very soon there develops a conflict based on the differing ages and values. An unexplained woman joins them and they relate to her improvisationally as her children, achieving thereby a provisional harmony in their conflict. By the end of the session, the two men are warring and loving simultaneously, with the woman pictured as the emblem of war.

To arrive at that much understanding of *War* I had to read the script after seeing the production. Still, I am confused between van Itallie's method and his argument. Aspects of reality, fantasy, human relationships, the generations, sexuality and the like are embraced by means of the improvisation device, which links up disparate elements in the action. But I am altogether unsure of what is central, what incidental, what a theme, what a means.

The play, in short, is dangerously unspecific and fails to convey a sense of what level it is working on. In Tom O'Horgan's production the acting was vivacious and evocative (I particularly liked Michael Warren Powell as the older actor), but it didn't help me find a way out of my obfuscation.

Sam Shepard's *Chicago* is the most idiosyncratic play in La Mama's repertory. Mr. Shepard is reported to be 22, which could have something to do with the discretionary character of his play; however, talent alone would explain how, especially at 22, he can so infuse his work with fierce vitality that we can accept an irreferable theatre, a theatre without collateral.

Chicago is a play of vivid stage imagery, slippery symbols and an unbridled indulgence of imagination. It possesses the barest outline of recognizable reality, which I would unscramble here if I didn't think Mr. Shepard intends by it only to lend a minimal credibility to his stage action. The hero, for example, spends all but the final moments of the play in a bathtub, but I don't think the device is meant to do more than locate him and render his existence recognizable. The action of the play has nothing to do with baths, nor does the tub emerge as a symbol more specific than any other locale imaginable in which the hero could be isolated. The tub and the hero in it are stage images, vivid and forceful, and Mr. Shepard gives no indication of wanting them to stand for specific ideas.

Chicago, however, is not without intellectual content, consisting in the interaction between the hero and several acquaintances who wander past his tub and in a long mock-heroic monologue — a quite extraordinary evocation of carnal picnicking on the beach that midway along assumes a life of its own, the story taking control of the storyteller.

From all of this it emerges that our alienated hero is hung up, probably on the lag between his imaginative faculty and his intellectual capability; i.e., the alienation felt by the artist. Beyond that I am less sure, but the hero seems to be calling for a more felt life, both a greater perception and a greater physicality.

These "meanings," it is important to remember, are conveyed by stage images and theatrical gestures which remain unintelligible if approached with the expectation of 1-to-1 equivalency. My hesitation about the play is precisely due to my lack of familiarity with this original technique, on top of which I am indebted to Michael Smith of *The Village Voice* for a provisional understanding of it.

Sam Shepard's theatre is one of dynamic images and the acceptance of their dramaturgical consequences. *Chicago,* with Kevin O'Connor impressively performing the main role, is a wry, often funny, sometimes furious force. Our attention is compelled.

Paul Foster's *The Recluse* received the best physical production of all six of the plays. The lighting, decor and sound effects contrived to conjure up an effective scene of action for the trog of a heroine, living at great depth beneath our world of daylight realities. I particularly liked the use of water sounds, suggesting that the place was enswirled by sewage.

But the production went too far and obscured, with too much sound and too little light, the crucial events which close the play. *The Recluse,* like one long, periodic statement in which all the qualifiers and ramifications (some of them deliberately misleading) are given first, reserves its key element, that which conveys the essential information, until the final moments of the action.

The fascination of *The Recluse* consists in the principal character's peculiar perspective on reality. Her main action, after some preliminary skirmishing with a dead kitten which she treats as alive, and a good deal of complaining about her pains and poverty, is to run a café for two life-sized dolls, "Sir" and "Madam." The suspense of the main action seems to inhere in whether she is raving mad or merely dotty—how far she has got, in short, from our reality. As the tea party progresses, Madam assumes provisional life and the suspense shifts to the question of whether the doll is moving only for the recluse or for us as well. But this too is a false suspense, we realize, as the doll comes fully to life, turns the tables on the recluse and takes over the action of the play. At this point the dimness of the

FREE
with every new subscription

A View of The Nation

An anthology edited by Henry M. Christman

Introduction by Carey McWilliams

269 pages

This handsome book, published by Grove Press, collects some of the best articles that have appeared in *The Nation.* Among the thirty-seven contributors: C. Vann Woodward, Kenneth Rexroth, David Cort, Harry Golden, Kenneth Burke, George P. Elliott, Fred J. Cook, Harvey Swados, Dan Wakefield, Eve Merriam, Walter Goodman, Josephine Herbst, J. Bronowski, Walter Millis. Robert Fulford, book editor of the Toronto *Daily Star,* refers to the contents as *"The Nation's* fresh voice," and adds: *"A View of The Nation* serves as a reminder that *The Nation,* at its best, is a very good magazine indeed."

For your FREE COPY of *A View of The Nation,* fill out subscription coupon below, and start receiving America's oldest weekly journal of opinion—a truly *independent, critical* weekly.

THE NATION
333 6th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014

Herewith my order for a new subscription to The Nation. Please send me FREE a copy of A View of The Nation.

☐ 1 Yr., $10 ☐ 2 Yrs., $18 ☐ 6 Mos., $5

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

(Foreign and Canadian postage: $1 a year extra)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

STATE ..... ZIP No. .....

4-4-66

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

light and the loudness of the sound effects rendered what was happening imprecise, but I wouldn't be surprised if the next enactment of the play had Madam running the café and the recluse impersonating a life-sized doll.

Jacque Lynn Colton played the heroine effectively, conveying a felt characterization and specializing in quick shifts of emotion. Miss Colton was skillful at making the recluse alternately endearing and horrific.

The variety of dramatic intentions and theatrical effects bodied forth by these six plays attests to an experimental vitality characteristic of off-off-Broadway. That a retrospective look at these classics was made possible by the Cafe La Mama says a good deal about this important playhouse. Self-described as an "Experimental Theatre Club," La Mama's essential contribution seems to me its willingness to be a *scena rasa,* as it were, for earnestly innovative playwrights, directors and actors. This attribute—an expression, I think, of the personal commitment, at once passionate and disinterested, of its proprietress, Ellen Stewart — gives La Mama its unique character among the off-off-Broadway theatres.

FILMS / Robert Hatch

First with *Breathless,* now with *Band of Outsiders,* Jean-Luc Godard is compiling a dossier on the somnambulist generation. These dreamy heirs of Existentialism are committed to a reality they construct from old Bogart films, "Le Wild-West" and the ethics of cool; their gratuitous act is the senseless crime. Catatonic, they are either inert or violently in motion, and Godard has invented for them a living-statues cinema style that freezes action, omits the initiation of scenes (thus creating the illusion of intermittent amnesia), acknowledges the hallucinated basis of the narrative with sardonic interpolations from the "management," and involves the camera itself in hysterical chases and mock free-for-alls. Role players to a man, Godard's people are playing truth without consequences. Unfortunately, their psychic nursery is not perfectly sealed off from the laws of physics and the imperatives of biology. Accidents intrude.

In *Band of Outsiders* Claude Brasseur and Sami Frey pick up Anna Karina, who is living with an older woman she calls aunt. She lets out that auntie's lover has stashed away in his closet a formidable stack of 1,000-franc notes (probably to evade income tax). The boys have an old roadster, with which they have been practicing racing turns, but it is clearly more fun to imagine that it is a souped-up getaway car. Besides, girls are impressed by gangsters, as anyone knows who has ever seen a George Raft movie (poor Karina gets knocked around rather briskly when the desperate duo recall George Raft). The Brasseur-Frey attention span is short, and a large part of what they have is spent on maintaining a proper Chicago style; thus, the crime is deplorably executed and entirely unsuccessful. Indeed, Brasseur is gunned down in its epilogue, but under conditions of such exaggerated heroics as to make his demise almost voluptuous. Frey and Karina set sail for South America—penniless, but no doubt Belmondo will be awaiting them in Rio.

There is a lyric grace to *Band of Outsiders,* as there is a sad charm in its young trio. They remind me of 19th-century romantic heroes and heroines, wasting from consumption into ethereal purity. Godard's people are in a decline of fantasy. The disease is authentic enough, and it is international. Walk through Greenwich Village any night, and you will pass stragglers from Lee's Confederate Army, outriders from Brando's motorcycle gang, Edwardian dandies, Chekhovian students, Japanese revolutionaries and transvestites beyond counting.

On the screen, the flavor of this generation is thin, a little diffuse, inconsequential. It seems washed over with an Oriental indifference (Zen is also part of the *mystique*). *Band of Outsiders* is an ingratiating film; funny, touching and a little boring.

The Sleeping Car Murder, directed by Costa Gavras, and starring Yves Montand, Simone Signoret and Catherine Allegret (the daughter of Mlle. Signoret and Yves Allegret), is a crisp and witty modern example of one branch of the screen tradition from which Godard's dreamers spin their lives. It is a first-rate police film, vividly cast, ingeniously plotted, professionally vernacular, and filmed at top speed. I doubt that many viewers will spot the killer more than seconds before the cops jump him, and anyone whose attention falters from the opening scene to the final execution may be left wondering just how it was done even when he knows who did it. Nothing is spelled out for the slow-witted, and it takes some agility to read the subtitles and keep up with the action. The parts all fit, though; this is honest trickery.

Shakespeare Wallah, which I reviewed when it was shown at the New York Film Festival last fall, has opened in New York on a somewhat shoestring basis. Its producers could find no American distributor and are putting the film on with their own resources. This limits advertising, publicity and the other prerequisites for commercial success, and the run may be short. It is a lovely film—gentle, humane, quietly witty. In other words, don't put it off.

CAMP

THE ROCK

a summer with purpose and meaningful freedom

Co-ed 12-16. Tennis, riding, canoeing, swimming, spelunking, art, drama, creative writing, music, speakers, discussions, work projects, week-end trips, and other activities.

Write for folder.

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT WILLIAMS
Williamsburg RFD, Mass. 01096

CAPE COD RENTAL

In Wellfleet, summer cottage on beautiful isolated bay beach. Rolling moors; superb swimming; complete quiet. Large living room, master bedroom and study; two bunk houses. Available June and July; $1,500. Address inquiries: **Box 585, c/o The Nation.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC), 692 Greenwich Street, New York 14, PSC 709.**

Advertising Rates

Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)
THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y. 10014
CHelsea 2-8400

Puzzle Fans

Are invited to meet their favorite tormentor on Wednesday, May 11, from 6 P.M. on. *The Nation* is giving a buffet supper that evening in honor of Frank Lewis at the Overseas Press Club, 54 West 40 Street; all devotees of his puzzles will be welcome guests. Please let us know if you are coming. Write or call Puzzle Dept., *The Nation,* 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 10014. Telephone: CH 2-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED